khajuraho

Text and Photographs by

ELIKY ZANNAS

with a Historical Introduction by

JEANNINE AUBOYER

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THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED TO

C. S.

WHO SHOWED SUCH A FRIENDLY INTEREST
IN IT EVEN BEFORE IT WAS WRITTEN

FOREWORD

In a recent work on the Candella, that of Nemai Sadhan Bose, the following words appear: 'As Smith suggested fifty years ago, the remains of the Candella temples at Khajurāho are worthy of a fully illustrated volume.' That volume we offer today. Thanks to the photographic documentation which Mrs. Eliky Zannas was able to make on the spot, it is possible for us to illustrate as it deserves this outline of the imposing architectural whole of Khajurāho which is, without question, one of the most striking in Mediaeval India.

We are not concerned to produce a complete monograph: our aim is less ambitious. We have attempted only to piece together all those facts concerning the illustrations which may explain their meaning and draw attention to points of interest in them. It is therefore a summary of what is known at present about this subject, which will, we hope, spare the reader the effort of scattered research. Those who wish to go deeper into certain points however, will find a bibliography and a glossary to refer to.

Our aim has been as much to study the architecture and the sculpture of Khajurāho as to place them in Mediaeval history. In order to be more explicit, we have chosen to present, in the first place, the historical climate of the time. Then, against this background, we have described the place of the Khajurāho site in the general evolution of Hindu architecture. In the section describing the temples, elaborate and accurate details of each one of them will be found.

Our thanks are due, in the first place to Professor F. D. K. Bosch whose work has placed him in the first rank among scholars in the Indian field. His attitude towards our work has been both friendly and helpful: not only did he open wide to us the doors of the Kern Institute, Leiden, but he also devoted much time to the study of our work and to advising us. We acknowledge equally the help of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, which carries out such excellent work under the direction of Dr. A. Ghosh. We are especially grateful to Sri Krishna Ch. Panigrahi who did so much to facilitate our access to the temples of Khajurāho. Our thanks are also due to the Conservator of this Group.

J. A. and E. Z.

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INTRODUCTION

SURVEY OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CANDELLA

The architectural site of Khajurāho is without question one of the most beautiful in India. And yet, of the eighty or so temples which were built on this site, only twenty-five have survived the effects of time and destruction. It is difficult to recapture the splendour of this sacred city at the height of its glory, alive with the ceaseless animation of a religious centre and the murmur of the *pūjā*, punctuated by the din of sacred orchestras. What remains today is scattered, often in ruins and lost in the unbroken silence of a semi jungle. Owing to the efforts of the Archaeological Survey of India (now the Department of Archaeology) those temples which are still intact retain an allure so magnificent that one is overwhelmed by the immensity of such a phenomenon of which only the traces have come down to us but the extent of which we can estimate from that which still exists.

We use the word 'phenomenon' deliberately, attributing to it a twofold meaning: on the one hand, of what is, in a sense, a natural manifestation and, on the other, of something wonderfully strange and unusual. Indeed this is how we look upon the stimulus behind this cluster of sacred buildings. Built in a hundred and fifty years, we can compare them to tropical plants which grow at a prodigious rate and become monstrously tall; a natural phenomenon perhaps, but strange to those who inhabit temperate zones. Like plants made of stone, the religious city of Khajurāho seems to have sprung out of the earth with a rapidity which defies the laws of nature. And yet, this wealth of sanctuaries unquestionably arises from a complex of historical, political and social events as well as from a psychological 'climate' which should not be overlooked. Considered from this point of view, the phenomenon of Khajurāho can be compared to another phenomenon of the same type: that of Versailles. Even as Versailles could only have been conceived and brought into existence under an exceptional political state, at the instigation of a proud and omnipotent power, in an age when the necessary talent and ability could be united in one great work, Khajurāho could only have been brought into being as a result of special conditions and circumstances which we must necessarily examine.

If in the case of Versailles we possess historical, literary and artistic evidence, the important points of which can be analysed, in that of Khajurāho we are sadly at the loss and compelled far more to resort to hypotheses, whether we want to or not. In contrast to certain regions where historical records give an idea, albeit approximate, of political developments and their influence on religion and art, Bandelkhand has nothing to offer. We have to have recourse to other sources. These fall into three groups: epigraphic, numismatic and literary. The inscriptions engraved on stone or copper have been listed[1] and published[2]; sixty-five in number, they range over the

period A.D. 954–1308.[3] Although they supply much valuable information, nevertheless they call for a certain amount of interpretation and supposition. It is often necessary to refer to the epigraphy of neighbouring areas in order to interpret more accurately the disjointed pieces of information and fill in the gaps. Numismatics complement these particulars up to a point but this source made its appearance comparatively late. As far as literary sources are concerned, they are written in Sanskrit, Persian and Hindi and here special reference must be made to the Sanskrit play, *Prabodhacandrodaya*, ascribed to the poet Kṛṣṇa Miśra; it was written in honour of King Kīrtivarman (A.D. *c.* 1060–1100) and performed at his court on the occasion of the restoration of his dynasty.[4] Lastly, eyewitness accounts of the time written by famous visitors, provide an interesting contribution.

With the aid of these various documents it has been possible to reconstruct, at least in its main outline, the history of Bandelkhand which is, in fact, the history of the Candella family which reigned there. While this history throws into relief the political greatness of the Candella who were, without doubt, the most powerful monarchs of Northern India from the middle of the Xth century to about A.D. 1030, it illustrates especially the importance of the Khajurāho site as well as many of its distinctive qualities. When, in about 831, King Nannuka, first reigning monarch of the Candella dynasty, made his appearance in history, the political situation in India was relatively confused. The great period of unity had entirely come to an end, a period which had flourished under the Gupta emperors, and which Harṣa of Kanauj had tried to re-establish to a certain extent during the forty years of his reign (A.D. 606–647).[5] The struggle for supremacy continued ceaselessly in the various provinces, and leadership belonged to him whose power was the most widespread if not the most firmly established. It is undeniable that the inherited ambition of Indian rulers to achieve 'universal' sovereignty was unflagging. The story of the Gupta emperors, still vividly present in the memories of all, did nothing to tone down this ambition or to temper the spirit of bold adventure. Kingdoms and empires flowered and faded in succession; some were little more than the resurgence of a power which, an actual fact, had long been secured; others pieced together some of the scattered fragments of great empires which had fallen into ruin; others appeared suddenly out of an obscure past which they endeavoured to glorify by means of trumped-up mythology and so-called history. This plurality in Indian political power is nothing new in Indian history. On the contrary, it can be said that it is the general rule in this vast country which is more like a subcontinent than a country in the proper sense of the word, and where at all periods political unity assumes a monstrous and artificial appearance. It could not be other than artificial because

The mediaeval character of India at the time of the Candella

of the variety of races and languages among its inhabitants and the different climatic conditions found there. The only truly stabilizing element which has given India a certain degree of solidarity is religion; it mattered little whether there was an emperor ruling over the whole country or a king over each state: both king and emperor participated in the divine - and that was all that counted. Consequently, political unity was a myth in this country even when it was thought to have been achieved; the Maurya rulers from the IVth to the IInd centuries B.C. and, less completely, the Gupta rulers from the IIIrd to the VIth centuries of the Christian era, imposed a common law upon a large part of India. But the only aspect of these periods which we can learn about, of course, is the official one; the question is, how to get at the truth behind the rapturous extravagance of their royal inscriptions, how to discover the emotion which individuals felt when these laws were brought into force, how, in the last resort, to bring to life the human everyday story, working from these pompous and bombastic writings? India realized the idea of nationhood during one period only, and that not so long ago; she owed this idea to the long and arduous trials of foreign occupation. It was only in her enthusiasm for her country's liberation that India felt true unity.

In the period around A.D. 800–830 nothing of this nature had taken place. The Muslim invasion was nothing but a threat, which everyone disregarded, except perhaps the nearest neighbours of Sindh which was the first to be invaded and occupied. They were, alas, to learn a harsh lesson when the Muslims made raid after raid into the interior, spreading suffering and ruin. But for a long time India failed to understand what was happening, and this most certainly made it easier for Islam to take a firm grip on large parts of Hindu territory. For the Indian princes realized, but too late, that only by joining forces with one another could the danger have been averted. And the political splitting up of the country in which India revelled rendered such a coalition quite impossible.

India in the IXth and up to the XIth centuries, was, properly speaking, mediaeval. At one moment there was a balance of power between the States; then they fought one another; treaties were made and broken; vassal states helped their suzerains or betrayed them; the caste of warriors and nobles maintained all its glamour and privileges, stamping on society its laws of chivalry, its ostentations and traditions.

Indian royalty was essentially military and more so than ever at this time. The science of war held a place of importance in this circle of conquerors.[6] It remained, however, the prerogative of a social group and this same group controlled the political destiny of the kingdoms: by handing down from generation to generation, a code of laws, wherein the highest ideal was bravery, and which was enforced on the whole of the society. The extent to which this ideal was applied depended on the susceptibility of society to accept an idea which made war the permanent aim

of life and the chief duty of the state. Indeed, as far as the noble warrior *(kṣatriya)* was concerned, the sacrifice of his life in battle was to be desired above all things. His whole upbringing, like that of his ancestors, was based on encouraging this aim in him. Furthermore, it was with impatience that he put up with periods of peace which, according to his idea, checked progress; he lived for the day when war broke out again and gave him the chance to make the most of his energy and fighting skill. It must be recognised that war was his only means of earning a living. Although he received a fixed army pay, most of the warrior's income was obtained from plunder. Sometimes he might also find a fiancée for himself at little cost, for he was free to carry away a girl he fancied. His only obligation was to marry her and never to part from her. For he was obedient to carefully drawn-up laws according to which everything which he took possession of by his own efforts belonged, beyond all question, to him. As he had to adjust these notions (which often conflicted with the morals of an ordinary civilian) to the spiritual lot of the soldier, the law-makers decided that the warrior's soul was exempt from the *saṃsāra* (the dreaded sequence of rebirth) on condition that he carried out his orders faithfully, performed his duty with courage and achieved the ultimate consecration, a glorious death on the battle-field. The family left unsupported behind him was cared for by the State.

The education of the *kṣatriya* began between the age of three and six years; it became more intensive when the age of eleven (the time for ceremonial investiture) was reached, and the boy entered upon his first combat at the age of sixteen. His childhood and adolescence were spent in learning the art of war in theory and practice, and in listening daily to stories describing the exploits and warlike adventures of his forefathers; he was kept under complete discipline, and was bound to obey his masters implicity.

As supreme representative of the warrior caste, the king was the first of the fighting men of the kingdom and in him the qualities of the warrior had to be developed to perfection. While admitting that the establishment of this caste most certainly guaranteed the stability of the system since, after all, it formed the strongest bulwark against surrounding anarchy, it has to be acknowledged that it also contained one serious drawback: that of causing the premature death of a large number of kings and chiefs. In fact, in accordance with their code of honour, it was not possible for them to come out of a battle alive when things turned out badly for their troops. They might well celebrate a hero's death in a solemn way, summoning the weeping widows, the whole court and most of the notables of the capital to the field of battle. None the less, such a loss often put the country in a precarious position. Fortunately some, despite their conquests, reached a ripe old age; others, however, committed suicide by climbing on to the pyre or by drowning[7]. Each of them was able to leave an unencumbered inheritance to a son who had had the time to forge his warrior spirit and was ready to carry on the task of his father.

This task involved exclusively the acquisition of territory, and for several reasons. It is wrong to believe that this was always the outcome of a frantic desire to dominate; the important factor was often the fear of having to put up with a turbulent or dangerous neighbour on frontiers which they considered to be far too near. The best way to avert such a menace was to annihilate the rival power and to move forward one's own frontier to the edge of the conquered country, thus gaining ground and time; for the farther away the enemy was, the longer it took him to reach the centre of the kingdom. The fact nevertheless remains that this so-called necessity gave rise to imperialistic notions which fitted in only too well with the traditional ideal of Indian royalty. The ambition of every king was to become a *samrāj*, a sovereign who had conquered the 'whole' of India; once he had accomplished this degree of excellence he did not stop until he acquired that of *Indratvam* which made him equal to Indra, the king of gods, or that of *ekacchattra* which means the supreme authority of him whose parasol *(chattra)* sheltered the whole of the earth. To achieve this, he was expected to claim recognition for his role of conqueror by offering solemn sacrifices, especially the horse sacrifice *(aśvamedha)*, all of which entailed enormous expense and demanded contributions from the priests and the entire population. To be conquered by a power did not necessarily mean the complete submission of the state reduced to vassalage; in many cases, in fact, the region reduced to subjection was allowed to retain its ways and customs, its own system of government, its own languages and religions. The only thing demanded of a vassal state was to pay the tributes punctually, to offer suitable presents, to give loyal support to the suzerain in any wars he might decide to wage, and finally to refrain from conducting diplomatic relations without the knowledge or the approval of the suzerain. On the whole, the demands were relatively moderate; certain rules accompanied them which, theoretical as they were, seem to have been applied regularly enough and in accordance with which the combatans were bound to keep cultivated land intact – prudent foresight in a land of difficult harvests, as beneficial to the conqueror as to the conquered, since the former would not then have to support the latter once hostilities ceased.

The same rules demanded that the soldiers always played the game; they were even to refuse to fight if the adversary was not properly armed and protected: the weapons employed had to be of equal strength; treachery and foul play were severely condemned. However, in order to be able to protect himself at all times, the warrior had to be trained in all forms of combat, honest and dishonest.

In these Indian kingdoms where the balance of power was maintained by the king's military prestige, the government of the country was largely preoccupied with the task of war which was also, in a sense, the task of peace, since it was, in theory, purely defensive. Besides, military science went hand in hand with economics and politics: the young *kṣatriya* was trained in these

subjects as well as in the use of arms. Thus a healthy and stable internal organization was guaranteed since the king was always expected to be able to lead a military campaign as well as to run the affairs of state. His education, like that of his nobles, was extended to the field of art and he sometimes practised a branch of art himself, or, in any case, was able to appreciate and understand it.[8] Finally he received a thorough religious training in accordance with the customs of the *kṣatriya* caste. For several years he was committed to the care of the Brāhmans whose teaching he followed and whom he served like a humble attendant. He by no means lacked the opportunity to train himself in the use of arms for he was kept busy enough in this way. When he returned to the palace of his ancestors, he could be considered well equipped with all sorts of knowledge which would make of him a worthy head of the family, a good husband and father, and an able soldier. As heir presumptive he was often associated to the affairs of the empire long before his father felt the time had come to make over his kingdom to him: he led certain military expeditions, helped to manage royal property, which was usually the same as that of the State, and led a life of display and ostentation in his own palace. For military life allowed periods of relaxation, which were of more or less long duration, when the king and his warriors delighted in playing at peace. The palace which was in the heart of the capital was the centre of intellectual and artistic life; workmen and servants vied with each other to beautify it and make it more comfortable. In it the king led an ordered life; a XIIthe century work[9] on the subject gives an idea of this life which fitted in with the most ancient traditions. Thus the Caulukya Kumārapāla got up early in the morning, said his jaina prayers and gave himself up to meditation. Then he had his bath and concentrated on his toilet, went to the palace chapel, and then, if there was time, rode to the temple on the back of an elephant, attended by his ministers. The rest of the morning was passed in religious services, in adoration and in listening to the teachings of the priests. At midday he returned to the palace, distributed alms and food to the beggars and sent offerings to the statues of the gods. Then he ate a meal, presided over a meeting of literary men and discussed with them religious and philosophic questions. Towards three in the afternoon he mounted his throne which had been erected in the royal courtyard and attended to the affairs of state, listened to addresses by the people and administered justice. Towards 5 o'clock he dined, but fasted once a week. After dinner he made an offering of flowers in the royal chapel and ordered the sacred dancers to offer a gift of light. The evening was spent listening to music and recitations of verse.

This comparatively austere life was interspersed with diversions. In addition to the daily concerts, the king – and this was one of his duties – was present at tournaments, elephant contests and other pastimes. Gambling played an important part in Indian society despite the penalties incurred by those who practised it[10]; many of the king's intimate friends, of his relatives,

or of his associates were keen gamblers and, the writer assures us, they were quite incapable of tearing themselves away from it even when they were mourning the death of a father, of a mother or of someone dear to them. On the other hand, prostitution *(veśyā - vyasana)* was allowed and was not regarded as a sin. Finally numerous feast days and holidays which were really excuses for displaying the luxury of the court, divided up the year.

But peace-time pleasures did not make them loose sight of the kingdom's interests. A squad of agents kept the king informed about the plans of his neighbours and was on the alert to warn him of any suspicious developments. Military expeditions were not undertaken however until diplomatic exchanges had been made. If the arguments brought forward by the foreign diplomats were found to be unacceptable, an envoy – immune from arrest – was sent to the sovereign to attempt last-minute negotiations; should these fail a special envoy of the king delivered an ultimatum.

After all this, the king, with a clear conscience and convinced that the last refusal gave him full right to do so, prepared his expedition. This expedition had been thought out well and long; the astrologers, consulted as to the best season to choose, usually recommended the winter for long marches, and the spring for short ones. It was obviously better to avoid the summer, so stiflingly hot in these regions, and the great rains which soaked the earth, clogged up the chariot wheels and caused man and beast to shiver with fever. The last week before the start was spent in praying. The king visited in solemn procession the chief temples of the capital amidst a large gathering of people. The astrologers carefully examined the auspicious omens which were to assure victory; they decided not only the day the army must move off, but also the exact hour favourable to each preparatory ceremony. The night before their departure the king slept in his war chariot, his weapons alongside him. He made peace offerings, the palace chaplain handed him his coat of mail, reciting as he did so, a hymn to Indra, beseeching the god to protect the king. At last, the royal procession left the palace, marched to the city walls and the king took command of his army.

From the IXth to the Xth centuries, if we can believe the writings of the time, the army was of considerable size. In certain battles each side deployed 36,000 horsemen, 390 elephants and 145,000 infantry. War chariots were not used after the VIth or VIIth centuries: they were probably found to be too cumbersome and not only had the driver to be trained to a high degree of skill, but they could only be used on certain kinds of ground, neither too muddy nor too dusty. Weapons were considerably improved. The bow was still the most common and most efficient weapon, and arrows had become more and more destructive – they could even be made to explode. Side arms used in hand-to-hand fighting were meticulously made and kept in excellent repair; they were long, but easier to handle than in earlier days, and many factories in

northern India specialized in making them. The infantry formed the main body of the army. The courage of infantrymen in sword duels was renowned, and the artists of Khajurāho recaptured in a masterly way the spirit which animated them (cf. pl. cx). But the cavalry and the elephants were more important strategically, for in these vast plains intersected with forests, the mounted units were bound to play a principal part – the speed with which they could move about being often of vital importance. Mounted troops, through their mobility, were extremely useful not only in sudden raids but also to shield the army from attacks for which it was unprepared, to cut off the enemy's supplies and reinforcements and, above all, for reconnaissance work. The sculptors who worked on Khajurāho did not forget to include them in the few realistic scenes devoted to armed combat (pl. cx, cxxxvii). Elephants, properly trained, did the work that tanks and bulldozers do today; caparisoned and cased in metal plates, they set their almost indestructible bulk against the enemy's arrows and were able not only to clear a way for the army by tearing up trees and stamping down undergrowth, but also to offer a solid line of resistence to the enemy's vanguard and strike terrible blows on the walls and doors of the beleaguered fortress. Like soldiers in a tank-turret, several archers climbed on their backs and were shielded by horsemen especially ordered to cover them and keep the enemy at a distance. It goes without saying that the elephants also play a part in the fighting scenes of Khajurāho (pl. cx, cxvii).

The army was followed by a long string of vehicles of different kinds from heavy chariots to light carts. These carried military supplies for men and animals, spare arms, repair tools, clothing, food, forage and other warlike impedimenta such as poisonous snakes (for poisoning the arrows), coils of rope, oil, molasses, sand, explosives, a supply of water, skins of animals and so on. A large number of non-combatants was regularly recruited to form this train: workmen, navvies, carpenters, professional huntsmen, surveyors and engineers. In addition, there were doctors, surgeons, astrologers, servants to beat drums and carry gongs and attend to the horses, charioteers and foragers. It is even stated that a corps of women accompanied them, likewise a motley band of friends and neighbours recruited from all classes, wealthy and dispossessed inhabitants of the capital, financiers, chamberlains, eunuchs. . . . The sick, the wounded and many poor creatures who were present for no particular reason, were piled on chariots and bumped about as the cavalcade moved headlong in a cloud of dust. If the cavalry did not keep a sharp look out, the enemy could easily intercept this transport train and deprive the army of all its supplies. This happened often, for it was a great temptation to attack such a particularly vulnerable part.

The column did not march until the terrain had been reconnoitred and cleared, and then usually in battle order. The march was organized by the superintendent of the train who also

arranged periods of rest and saw to communications. The army halted in the evening and encamped for the night.

When the army reached the battle field and had not met with too many mishaps, it took up the usual strategic position: the camp was pitched near to the fortress to which siege was to be laid. It was set up as a huge quadrangle surrounded by walls and ditches; a gateway in each wall made it easy of access. Each army division took up its quarters inside and patrolled around it in turns. The rules of the camp were very strict and passes had to be shown on entering and leaving it. The approaches to the camp were covered by ditches hidden by branches as a protection against unexpected attacks by the enemy. Drinking, gambling and other pastimes were prohibited.

On their side, the besieged prepared as good a resistance as they possibly could. The soldiers took up their positions on the ramparts and in the watch towers; the fortress was well provided with provisions, water and ammunition. Reserves had been taken inside or else burnt so that the enemy could not make use of them. The bridges had been destroyed; the moat, where poisonous plants grew, bristled with sharpened stakes and was filled with crocodiles. The main entrance had been reinforced and others, when possible, walled up.

The enemy's immediate line of action was not armed attack: first he looked around and considered the possibility of conquering the fortress without fighting. Spies wearing disguise played the part of a real 'fifth-column': by means of conjurations and all sorts of trickery they endeavoured to demoralize the garrison and the citizens. At the same time they polluted wells and springs and destroyed reserve supplies. When the assailant noticed sure signs of discouragement in his adversary, he launched an attack. The engineer corps filled in the ditches, the elephants tried to shake the ramparts and the cavalry to force the gate. If the resistance proved too strong, the assailant withdrew and made a truce. Once more he took note of the weakness in the fortress and renewed the attack; it was only as a very last resort that he committed the atrocity of setting fire to it. Often he chose guile: without warning, he destroyed his own camp and all his men withdrew as if they were giving up the struggle. But this was only to get the besieged to leave their positions and pursue him; then he planned to lead them on to a combat in the open country and in a place favourable to himself. Sometimes he escaped, let the enemy follow him and then turned back as quick as lightning and took davantage of the chance to rush into the fortress. These were probably the tactics resorted to by the Candella Vidyādhara in A.D. 1019 when he struck camp in front of the invader Maḥmūd of Ghaznī who understood nothing of these methods and thought that the Candella king had given up the struggle. Sometimes however the battle was fought outside the walls of the fortress; the choice of ground was very important for it had to be suitable at the same time for the horses, the elephants and the

infantry. As on a chessboard – and the traditional tactics of war seem, indeed, to have been based on the game of chess – the contending forces were arranged in an almost fixed order: in front, the royal standard; immediately behind it the line of elephants flanked by the cavalry with the chariots in front. Behind the elephants came the infantry in square formation and armed with bows and daggers. The rear-guard was made up of reserves and was led by the king. The best form of strategy lay in outflanking the forward position, attacking the rear guard and seizing the king; in order to achieve this they did not hesitate to lay ambushes. The soldiers and the horsemen kept a reasonable distance apart so as not to get in each other's way. The battle was waged to the loud clanging of gongs, to the beating of drums and shells and to shouts and yells which drowned the trumpeting of the elephants, the twanging of the bows and the whizzing of arrows. The horses, doped with wine, were urged forward by the whip. A thick cloud of dust rose above the fray; this dust was sometimes so dense that it was difficult to distinguish, in the hand-to-hand fighting, whether the opponent was one of the enemy's men or one of one's own. Flags fluttered all over the place: each division tried to stay grouped around his own, for if the enemy captured it, victory was his; so arrows were aimed at the flag-pole in an attempt to break it. While the battle was raging, the wounded were attended to at the back of the lines by the surgeons and doctors who were well equipped with dressings, ointments and instruments; women, who were payed for this purpose, did the work of nurses.

If the battle went on for several days – for the total strength was brought into action only when it was absolutely necessary – fighting stopped at sunset and a truce kept throughout the night.

Victory was absolute when the assailant, having routed the enemy, entered into the fortress; he put his own soldiers in the place of those already there; then, accompanied by a general of the conquered army who pointed out to him the bravest subjects, he visited the wounded and accorded them, as well as the sick and the weak, his protection. On the field of battle the dead were sorted out, their bodies piled up on funeral pyres in accordance with their rank, and the cremation ceremony performed in the presence of their relatives; steles were erected to commemorate the dead. If the king of the enemy was among the dead, the court, eminent personages, merchants, workmen and farmers were allowed to come and mourn him with the chanting of hymns recounting his exploits. Then the victorious king entered solemnly into the conquered city, and with triumphal pomp, displaying all the symbols of victory, he went into the palace of the conquered king. He recited a hymn, and held a religious ceremony *(pūjā)* during which offerings were made to the Brāhmans. After this religious observance, he divided the booty, deducting his own part first. The conquered king, or in the event of his death, his son, was put back on the throne on condition that henceforth he bore in mind that he was the conqueror's

vassal. Prisoners had to be treated with consideration; but warriors who had given evidence of cowardice were brought up for trial and severely punished.

It is not difficult for us to imagine the enthusiastic and sumptuous reception which awaited the victorious king in his own capital. His return was announced by messengers, and minstrels vied with each other to sing his praises. To mark the occasion of his triumph, he offered solemn sacrifices, and presented gifts to the temple and to the Brāhmans of his kingdom, for victory would not have been his without the help of the gods. The reestablishment of royal power free from enemy threat, was often, as in the case of the Candella Kīrtivarman, the occasion for the composition of a play to be presented before the entire court. As often as not the victor ordered scribes to immortalize his brilliant feat of arms in lines especially written for the occasion and then engraved on stone, rivaling one another to praise his incomparable strength, his resemblance to the gods, his bravery and outstanding qualities. Unfortunately this is all that is handed down to us of this aspect of life; through literary allusions, superfluous phrases and metaphors we have to reconstruct, after centuries have passed, the tragic fate of the conquered, the unknown dramas of defeat, the lot of thousands of human beings suddenly distorted by a cruel destiny. A few rare allusions to those times give us an idea of the consequences of these struggles which are briefly summed up in a few doubtful dates. Thus it was in A.D. 1005 when, in order to check the advance of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, the Hindu women decided to sell their jewels and to melt down their golden ornaments to contribute to the treasury and defray the expenses of the war.[11] We can assess the significance of a sacrifice such as this only when we realize the symbolic value, as well as the pecuniary one, attached to jewels: for those women they were not only fine and flattering ornaments but a mark of their social position, their happiness in marriage and, as often as not, they represented the family's entire capital.

Once the danger had passed, the sumptuous life of the court continued in an atmosphere of intrigue and internal quarrels or, as was often the case too, in a peaceful and untroubled atmosphere – while the farmer with unflagging effort dug furrows with his simple plough, oblivious to the country's problems but fully aware of his own daily ones.

The political situation in India in the time of the Candella family[12]

It was also in an atmosphere such as this – which is as typical of India in the Middle Ages as it is of India in earlier centuries – that the destiny of the northern and central kingdoms was decided. From year to year the political maps of these regions changed through the hazards of war. One of the chief stakes was without doubt the town of Kanauj. The reason of this perhaps was that it still enjoyed the reputation of having been an imperial capital under the Maukhari and the Puṣpabhūti and because it assumed great

brilliance under the emperor Harsa. It was certainly important for its first-rate strategic position, which controlled the land between the Ganges and the Jamnā to which it owed enormous wealth. Kanauj was described as the real capital of the whole of India where all the treasures of that land met like streams flowing into a river. This town had an army, riches of all kinds, elephants and weapons.[13] Its armies, four in number, consisted of a total of 2,800,000 to 3,600,000 men[14]; there were seven fortresses. After the governor of the Sindh had allegedly plundered his way as far as Kanauj in A.D. 717, Kārkoṭa Lalitāditya of Kāśmīr was the first to seize it (*c.* 736) and after him Pāla Dharmapāla king of Bengal and Bihār who, shortly after 783, installed one of his feudatories there. A short time before 836 Kanauj fell a pray to Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa II and under his dynasty it became the centre of the empire. During the reign of Mahīpāla (*c.* 914–943), it suffered a raid by Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III (*c.* 915–917). After the dismemberment, shortly after 954, of the empire of the Pratīhāra in which the Candella family played a principal part and from which they earned their independence, it seems however that Kanauj remained in the hands of the former; but it was twice sacked by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī in 1017 and in 1019 in the reign of Rājyapāla. Candella Vidyādhara seized the opportunity to establish one of his feudatories there.[15] Then it fell into the hands of Kalacuri Lakṣmīkarṇa (*c.* 1042–1070), and Kalacuri Yaśaḥkarṇa (*c.* 1073–1125) in turn, and into those of Gāhaḍavāla Candradeva (*c.* 1080–1100), Govindacandra (*c.* 1114–1155)[16] and Vijayacandra (*c.* 1155–1170 A.D.). Muḥammad of Ghōr brought havoc once more in 1193 and after that it seems to have been annexed by the Muslims, though it continued to be governed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereign up to the reign of Iltutmish (1211–1236).

The exemple of Kanauj is very typical of the history of Central India through the centuries. Perhaps this was an extreme case, but it illustrates, in a perfectly clear way, the continual changing of hands that fortified towns often underwent. Their downfall meant nearly always the crumbling of the kingdom, in any case it meant that the power of the ruler was curtailed and subject to the will of the conqueror. It is difficult, if not impossible, to find, in all the military projects which were launched, one which was drawn up on a large scale or planned in detail: it appears that the desire to conquer was restricted in all and sundry to their immediate needs and decided by the favourableness of the occasion. The increasingly threatening approach of the Muslim invaders was not rated at its true value, which reveals a short-sighted policy: not one warrior-chief realized the seriousness of the situation for the group of kingdoms in the centre; not one was clever enough, not one had enough strength of character to organize an efficacious coalition. Each was content to apply the ancient tactics of war against the invader without even considering whether these tactics would match his methods. The few successes of the Hindus are therefore all the more worthy of note.

Just as the Candella dynasty is beginning to make a name for itself in the historical documents belonging to the period between about A.D. 830 and 916, Bandelkhand, the chief fortresses of which were held by them, was still part of the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra empire which for a long time had contended with the Pāla of Bengal and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa of Dekkan for the kingdom of Kanauj. When, in about A.D. 816 (?), thanks to the bravery of their sovereign Nāgabhaṭa II, they took possession of it, they were at the height of their power: their possessions equalled those which the Gupta emperors had formerly acquired. Though not the same, they were more far-reaching, extending from the Pañjāb to Bihār and from Kāṭhiāwār to Southern Bengal. Within this vast area, the empire of the Pratīhāra included as well numerous kingdoms to which the traditional rule of allegience applied and that of the Candella family was among them. There is no doubt that this empire was the strongest in India at this time; its military strength was acknowledged by all and its government gave proof of her inspiring powers of agression.

Nevertheless, the empire of the Pratīhāra was surrounded by powerful neighbours who endeavoured to enlarge their domains at its expense: to the East, the Pāla, reigning chiefly over Bengal and Bihār; in the South-East the Rāṣṭrakūta and the Cāḷukya; more to the South the Coḷa family who were to intervene episodically in the history of the kingdoms of Southern and Central India. They were all prompted by the same ambition – territorial gains, which drove them to try to conquer lands near and far. The diplomatic game, military campaigns, alliances, treachery, agreements observed or broken, all rendered these frontiers particularly unstable. But the anxiety of war did not prevent them, generally, from keeping up cultural relations with each other, building magnificent temples, promoting trade and encouraging literature and the arts.

Inside the empire of the Pratīhāra, a large number of vassal kingdoms strove to increase their power and consolidate step by step their own authority; like a belt they surrounded Bandelkhand where the city of Khajurāho was held (*c.* A.D. 830) by the first of the Candella family recorded in history whose name, we know, was Nannuka. In the South-East of Bandelkhand were the Kalacuri whose possessions seem to have been much more far-reaching in the past[17] and whose first historical king, Kokkalla, made his appearance about A.D. 875 (*c.* 875-925). It seems that he sought to live on good terms with everyone: he concluded marriage alliances with the Candella family and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family and was on friendly terms with the Pratīhāra of Kanauj. His power however was not equal to that of his illustrious neighbours because he occupied only the Jabbalpore region. In the same way, the Paramāra, who had settled in the South-West of Bandelkhand, could not in those days make any claims to fame; we only know the names of their rulers: Vairisiṁha I, Sīyaka and Vākpatirāja I without knowing exactly the feats to ascribe to them; their tales of valour are confused with those of their sovereign the Pratīhāra and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa. Further to the West, in the Kāṭhiāwār and Gujarāt districts, the

Caulukya (or Solaṅki) of Anhilvāda are at the same stage. Likewise the Cāhamāna established in the Śākambharī region, not far from the future Jaipur and Amber in the heart of the Rājputana and their hereditary foe the Tomara, who had spread from the North of the Candella country and were later to prove interesting from a historical point of view.

This mixture of peoples and realms – the last mentioned still in the womb so to speak – was shielded from the Muslim attacks – without however realizing it – by two powerful dynasties, that of the Śāhi in the North of the Pañjāb and that of the Utpala in Kāśmīr (who succeeded the Kārkoṭa). Being more aware perhaps than the others of the consequences of an invasion, these two dynasties sensed the danger, formed an alliance and proved to be brave fighters. At the same time the king of Kāśmīr, Avantivarman, handed down to posterity enduring evidence of a period of peace and prosperity.

With the Xth century, the balance between the powers facing one another was about to change; the Pratīhāra declined perceptibly and powers which, up to now, had been of only secondary importance, increased in strength and authority, the Candella not the least of them. However, up to about A.D. 915, the Pratīhāra gave the impression of being at the height of their power.[18] Then king Mahendrapāla I (*c.* 893–907) repulsed the attack of Pāla Rājyapāla who had made an attempt to seize Kanauj. And their armies seem to have made successful raids as far as Kerala (Cochin) in the extreme South-East corner of the Indian peninsula. Their success was shortlived however. But if the Pratīhāra aimed more or less intentionally at restoring, to their own advantage, the political unity of India – which had been the dream of every monarch since the fall of the Maurya dynasty in the second century B.C. – their position was not as favourable as that of the Maurya had been; they were up against a strong enemy, powers which were organized, accustomed to fighting and determined to conquer. It meant, therefore, that the Pratīhāra had to support a large army on a war-footing prepared to counterattack on all sides; a difficult position and one which must have drawn heavily on the finances of the empire. Besides, in their internal affairs there were troubles and tumults which were soon to make themselves felt, for family quarrels divided them among themselves.[19] In addition the neighbouring empires were showing signs of threatening them: the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, who had settled in Malkhed (Dekkan) and whose territory bordered in parts on that of the Pratīhāra, the Cāḷukya in Mahārāṣṭra and the Coḷa in Karṇāṭa were all inspired with the will to conquer. They had to reckon, too, with the aggressiveness of the Pāla in the East and the advance of the Muslim hordes in the North-West districts. The Coḷa farther away in the Dekkan were more preoccupied with extending their own territories and did not directly affect the history of the southern realms. But this does not apply to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and the Cāḷukya. Thus between A.D. 915 and 918, Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III dealt the Pratīhāra a serious blow; with the help of the

Cāḷukya, one of his vassal states, he marched into the empire of the Pratīhāra by way of Mālvā,[20] seized the towns of Kanauj and Prayāga (Allahābād) and rushed in pursuit of Pratīhāra Mahīpāla I. Such a hasty retreat was against the rules of honour and, in lines full of contempt, the Kanarese poet Pampa describes the conquered emperor fleeing in great haste 'not stopping to eat or sleep or rest'.[21] Indra III met with complete victory; he did not enjoy power for long though as he died before the end of A.D. 918 leaving his own empire in a state of confusion.[22] To crown the misfortunes of the Pratīhāra, the Pāla, taking advantage of their disorder, attacked them in their turn and gained a part of Bihār.

These events which took place in approximately 916 wrought a considerable change in the history of the central kingdoms and H. C. Ray is right when he stresses their importance.[23] A reversal of power was effected, although doubtlessly the people of that time failed to realize fully its significance. Pratīhāra Mahīpāla, beaten, made every effort to restore his dynasty; but he was reduced to such a state of weakness that he was forced to appeal to his vassal states. It was an excellent opportunity for those who had sufficient resources to come to his aid. The head of the Candella family seized this chance eagerly: he boasted that he succeeded in his enterprise and reinstated Mahīpāla.[24] It was, for his own dynasty, the offical beginning of a glorious career which would benefit his successors. His name has given rise to much controversy but I think the opinion of N. S. Bose should be followed: he holds that this king was Harṣadeva.[25] Be that as it may, the fact remains that after this dramatic defeat, the empire of the Pratīhāra began its downward course while several of its vassal states became more and more powerful.

No one of these vassal states however dared to break away from the sovereign power either because the traditional loyalty they felt as feudal states prevented them, or because the power of the Pratīhāra seemed too strong to risk committing such a disloyalty. As a matter of fact peace in the empire was pretty uncertain and indeed, once their internal affairs had been restored, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa resumed the offensive, invading once again before 940 the kingdoms of the North. Their emperor Kṛṣṇa III seized the two important fortified towns, Citor and Kālañjāra. Once more Pratīhāra Mahīpāla was forced to ask the support of his vassal states; the Candella chief (Harṣadeva or more probably his son Yaśovarman) fought victoriously against the invader and recovered the two fortresses. It seems that he kept them for himself; we do not know whether he was given them because he so bravely took up the cudgels in his sovereign's cause or whether he simply refused to restore them to him – the second assumption is probably the most likely one.

It was one more step in the direction of independent sovereignty for, as we have seen before, to be in possession of fortresses was a sure guarantee of power.

Shaken by this second attack on the part of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, the Pratīhāra dynasty was moreover involved in grave internal dissension; king followed king at very short intervals. Disinte-

gration took place almost imperceptibly and increased towards 950. Of the vassal states, that of the Candella was the first to free itself from the tutelage of the Pratīhāra and claim its independance: this was definitely accomplished in 954 when the Candella then reigning, the valiant Dhaṅga (A.D. *c.* 950–1008), added the fortress Gwālior to the possessions of his ancestors and extended his domain as far as the banks of the Jamnā. Soon after this, Dhaṅga fell upon Kanauj and conquered it. The old vassal states belonging to the Pratīhāra followed the example of the Candella or gave in to them. Alliances were turned upside down; friends became enemies overnight; each state looked to its own interests, seizing every opportunity, regardless of the consequences, to cut an empire up into pieces to the detriment of the weakening suzerain.

In the course of the second half of the Xth century, the structure of the ancient empire of the Pratīhāra was tottering; the weaker it became, the more certain was the decline of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and they ceased to be a great power in Dekkan. The result was that the old allies and feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, natural enemies of the Pratīhāra, failed to agree among themselves and immediately attacked each other, for diplomatic and political fluctuations are meant to further territorial interests. Nothing could have been more favourable to a reversal of power; the strongest of the vassal states belonging to the two hostile dynasties hastened to impose their supremacy on the weaker ones: the Candella under the leadership of their king, Dhaṅga, the Paramāra under Sīyaka II dispossessed their common suzerain Pratīhāra, of all his territory except the Doāb and destroyed all hope of his ever recovering his authority or his once flourishing empire.

However, a new factor was about to enter into the history of the Indian kingdoms: the Muslim menace was about to make itself felt. Already, during Dhaṅga's reign, the power of the invader was well known, if we can believe what was written in a document by Candella Kīrtivarman who claimed that his ancestor equalled the turbulent Maḥmūd of Ghaznī in military skill.[26]

The founding in Ghaznī of the Muslim Ghaznevid dynasty in the last quarter of the Xth century put an empire, weak as that of the Pratīhāra had become (soon they were to have only one rampart, that of the Śāhi), in a precarious position. The last mentioned dynasty, the Śāhi's, forced, under pressure of the Muslim invader, to leave their ancient land of Kābul, had founded another kingdom in the Pañjāb at the expense of the kings of Kāśmīr and Multān and of the Pratīhāra of Kanauj. But the Muslims raided more and more often in the direction of Doāb. The Śāhi Jayapāla, seeing his kingdom grow smaller and smaller, decided to launch an attack and to attempt, not only to relax the hold of the invaders, bu also to recover his lost territory. After a fierce encounter which was indecisive and the negotiations which resulted from it, the Śāhi ruler made the mistake of imprisoning the Muslim hostages. The counterstroke was crushing:

his kingdom was this time completely sacked, the Lamghān region in particular. With energy born of despair, Jayapāla appealed to his fellow countrymen for their help; the 'kings of Delhi, Ajmer, Kālañjāra and Kanauj' rallied round him, and an army of 100,000 cavalry advanced against the Muslim invader. The encounter battle took place not far from Lamghān and resulted in total defeat for the Hindus (about 991). The western side of the Śāhi kingdom was completely cut off and the fortified towns beyond the Indus, among them the strategic point of Peshāwar, fell into the hands of the Muslims.

After a breathing space due to the death of Sabuktigīn in A.D. 997, the Muslims resumed their raids into Hindu territory under the leadership of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī and continued during the early part of the XIth century. In 1001 he launched a surprise attack on Jayapāla and overthrew him despite the latter's furious resistance: the Śāhi and his family were taken prisoner. Jayapāla was set free soon afterwards, however, and transferred his throne to his son Ānandapāla in about 1001–1002. But we would be underestimating the ambition of the conquering Muslim if we thought he would stop there. After attacking the Śāhi once again in 1004 and seizing the fortress of Bhera, he insisted on transit rights at all times through the Śāhi kingdom. Ānandapāla refused this request and the Muslim joined battle with him once more, defeating him, driving him back as far as Kāśmīr and capturing Sukhapāla, one of his sons who, so the story goes, became converted to Islam and agreed to serve Maḥmūd.

Meanwhile, Maḥmūd was confronted with the attacks of the Turk, Ilak Khān, whose armies he destroyed completely. This task done, he decided to bring to an issue the matter of the Śāhi whose resilient attitude made him uneasy. His campaign of 1008 ended in victory in 1009.

This was really the end of the Śāhi dynasty. In rapid succession Maḥmūd plundered one place after another in the Pañjāb: the sacking of the temple of Nagarkot in 1009 was followed by that of Cakraswāmī at Thānesar in 1011–12. Finally in 1013–14 he attacked Ānandapāla's son and successor, the Śāhi Trilocanapāla, who in 1021 suffered another defeat which was this time decisive. Trilocanapāla was killed and the reign of the Śāhi dynasty brought to an end; his children and grandchildren took refuge in the court of the Lohara in Kāśmīr where they were to play an important part and become famous for their bravery and fighting skill.

This series of events, spread over about thirty years, resulted in the complete downfall of the Pratīhāra whose power had already been considerably reduced. When the Śāhi Trilocanapāla was forced to withdraw to Kāśmīr, the road to the Doāb was opened to Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. He invaded the Doāb in 1018, seized Kanauj which he plundered and burnt, put Pratīhāra Rājyapāla to flight and massacred the population. When, twelve years later, al-Bīrūnī went through Kanauj, he found that it was still deserted and in ruins. Candella Vidyādhara (see p. 36 below) passed judgement on his former suzerain for his cowardice and probably had him killed.

In the following year, it was a Candella with whom Maḥmūd came face to face. The battle was drawn, neither side gaining a decided advantage. As with the Śāhi, the fate of the Pratīhāra was sealed: after the obscure reign of Trilocanapāla (one reference in A.D. 1027), only one of the Pratīhāra is known to have reigned in the valley of the Ganges, a certain Yaśaḥpāla who in 1037 governed a principality near to Prayāga (Allahābād).

The disappearance of the Śāhi and the Pratīhāra at about the same time from the political picture of Central India gave the Hindu sovereigns freedom to fight things out among themselves. And to this we must add the Muslim threat: although Maḥmūd, after the year 1019, had apparently given up the idea of conquering Bandelkhand, he continued to make savage raids into India. In 1025 it was Caulukya Bhīma I who fell victim to him. Mahmūd laid siege to Somanātha with its famous sanctuary. While Bhīma made his escape by sea, resistance was offered by the priests; after a few days the beleaguered city opened its gates; the population was massacred and Maḥmūd 'ordered the *mu'azzin* to go on the top of the *derā* and call the faithful to prayer.... All the idols were broken, burnt and destroyed, and the *Manāt* stone (probably a *liṅga*)[27] was taken out of its roots and broken to pieces; part of it was placed on camels and brought to Ghaznī and placed outside the mosque there. There was a treasure under the idols. He carried away that treasure and got a huge amount of wealth, consisting of silver idols and their jewels'.[28] Bhīma I took refuge in the fortified town of Kandahat (perhaps this was Kanthkot in East Kacch) but this Muslim raid had no lasting effect and Bhīma was able to return to his capital.

The conflict which constantly prevailed between the Hindu princes was particularly grave. From about 1019 to the death of Candella Vidyādhara in about 1029, the power of the Candella family was undisputed. Meanwhile several of the dynasties still in existence strengthened their respective positions and set out, in turn, to try and seize supreme power. The remainder of the XIth century was filled with the struggles of the heads of dynasties among themselves. Alliances were more unstable than ever for each one tried to get away with the lions's share.

By turns, Paramāra Bhoja, a scholar and a soldier, and Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva – who bore the glorious name (*biruda*) of Vikramāditya and tried to get himself deified under the name of Vāmadeva – seized supreme power, while the unfortunate disappearance of Candella Vidyādhara placed the latter dynasty in a temporarily critical position. A reversal of the situation during the second half of the XIth century enabled Candella Kīrtivarman to recover his empire. While the power of the Kalacuri dwindled (*c.* 1055), that of the Gāhaḍavāla who had seized the Doāb, key to the states lying further South, and of the Caulukya of Gujarāt rose sky high.

The XIIth century opened, however, with a reversal of political values which affected the Paramāra most of all. Supreme power then passed into the hand of the Caulukya whose land,

after their conquest of Mālvā, bordered immediately on that of the Candella family. But while the Candella concentrated chiefly on restoring internal equilibrium and repulsing more or less successfully the repeated attacks of the Gāhaḍavāla (before A.D. 1167), the Cāhamāna came in their turn into the limelight by ousting the Ghaznevids from the whole Delhi region which commanded access to the Doāb, the coveted prize of the era.

The Muslims, as we have seen, had, since the preceding century, ceased the pressure they had brought to bear on their opponents. After settling in Lahore, the Ghaznevid dynasty had weakened. But suddenly an assaulting wave more terrible than ever surged up: the Ghōrids under the command of Muḥammad of Ghōr.

Having driven the Ghaznevids out of Lahore in 1186, Muḥammad attacked Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja who offered resistance for five years long in a life and death struggle. Victorious at first at Tarain in 1191, Pṛthvīrāja was defeated the following year on the same field of battle, taken prisoner and beheaded. A tragedy like this – which happened so often in mediaeval India – brought to an end the Cāhamāna dynasty and opened up the way to Central India for the conquering Muslim. One after the other the Hindu kingdoms fell into his hands: first he defeated Gāhaḍavāla at Chandwar (Etāwah district) in 1193, then seized Kanauj and Banaras where he destroyed 'a thousand' temples and used the materials to build mosques; he closed the campaign with the occupation of Magadha.

The close of the XIIth century throws into relief the fundamental weakness of Hindu policy in the Middle Ages. Instead of grasping the fact that a common danger threatened them, instead of forming a coalition against the Muslim invader, the Hindu sovereigns continued to expend their energy in trying to increase their own individual power, regardless of the tragic consequences which would be the outcome for them all. Now, looking back in time, we can imagine, that quite probably the Hindu princes, if they had formed one block, could have overcome the assailant and kept him at the safe distance; to convince ourselves of this we have only to realize that over and over again the Muslim armies were succesfully repulsed by a single prince and his army.

At the beginning of the XIIIth century only four of the ancient Hindu families still reigned over tracts of land large enough to be called kingdoms: the Candella family up to about 1288, the Paramāra family (*c.* 1310), greatly diminished in power, the Caulukya (*c.* 1304), and those who succeeded the Lahora family in the Kāśmīr (*c.* 1339). All the other families were destroyed by the attacks of Muḥammad of Ghōr, of Iltutmish and of those who came after them. From the beginning of the XIVth century onwards, the Muslim grip had become so firm that Central India could be regarded as completely under the sway of the conquerors. A new era opened for India; and with it began a long series of misfortunes and trials which were, nevertheless, to leave her intellectual and moral values intact.

KAṆḌĀRIYA. Superstructure of the maṇḍapa

THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE CANDELLA IN INDIAN HISTORY

Their Ancestry Like many Indian sovereigns who for some reason or other felt bound to justify their accession to power, the Candella dynasty claimed descent from the moon and kinship with the *kṣatriya* caste. Various versions of the story are in circulation; some derive from traditional sources, others from stone inscriptions. According to one legend, the first born of the clan, Candravarman, sprang from the moon (Candrama[29]) and the daughter of the *purohita* of the king of Banaras. He saw the light of day on the banks of the Karṇavatī and was brought to Khajurāho. Then he is supposed to have reigned at Mahobā and built a fort in Kālañjāra. This first king, Candravarman, does not appear – at least not under this name – in the genealogical list handed down in the inscriptions. Another story holds that the birthplace of the dynasty was Kālañjāra and not Khajurāho where, however, the oldest inscriptions were found. According to this version, the founder of the family was born of the moon and the daughter of a Brāhman who was so ashamed of this union that he changed himself into stone; this stone is still treated with reverence under the name of Maniyā Devī or Maniya Deo. This legend is however not to be found in the inscriptions. These maintain that the dynasty descended from the *muni* Cantrātreya, son of Atri (who was a sage born of Brahmā's spirit) and the eye which had given birth to the moon. It is the name Candrātreya which appears most often to represent this family in the ancient inscriptions, changing little by little into Candrella, Candella, Caṁdella or Candela.[30] In each one of them the root *candra*, which means moon, can be found. But there are reasons to believe that this claim, made by so many Hindu dynasties, cloaks the family's desire to ennoble itself, nay, even to claim ancient Āryā ancestry. All this however is hypothetical, as is the opinion, held by many authors, that the Candella were born of the Bhar peoples who had settled at that time in Hamīrpur, Bāndā and Jhansi districts.[31]

An ingenious suggestion, made by H. C. Ray, enables us to link the legendary Candravarman with the first Candella leader to appear in history: Nannuka. We can take it for granted that the latter – like so many of his descendants – bore several names or, in any case, a *biruda*, and that one is applied to him in the incriptions, another in the legend. However, whatever name he bore, the Nannuka of the inscriptions was nothing more than a petty rāja, a vassal of the Pratīhāra: he was addressed as *nṛpa* and *mahīpati* and never mentioned afterwards, as though this successors did not think it fitting to represent him as the head of their line. It seems that at this time (about A.D. 830) the land belonging to the Candella consisted of little more than the small principality situated around Khajurāho and under the suzerainty of Pratīhāra

Nāgabhaṭa II. In those days there was nothing to suggest the considerable part the future dynasty was to play. But then and henceforth the clan carried the name which it was continue to carry: the name of Jejābhukti after – we think – one of its first rulers Jayaśakti, a grandson of Nannuka. After several 'reigns', their relationship to the Pratīhāra was much the same. And yet those who succeeded Nannuka, each in his turn, enlarged the ancestral home. His son Vākpati seems to have extended his conquests toward the Vindhya mountains in the South-East. But it was the latter's two sons, Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti, who were really to lay the foundations of the clan's prosperity, if not its sovereignty; they claimed no royal title and were known simply as heroes *(vīra)*. The possibility exists that Vijayaśakti, who succeeded his brother, was a feudatory of Pratīhāra Bhoja I or of his son and successor Mahendrapāla; the same applies to Rāhila, who succeeded his father Vijayaśakti and who is supposed to have founded the city of Rasin in Bāndā district.

First steps towards supremacy

Following the reign of Harsadeva (*c.* A.D. 916) the Candella dynasty began to stand for something in the conglomeration of little princedoms which constituted the Pratīhāra empire. The geographical position of Bandelkhand was to a great extent responsible for the dynasty's future. Its chief centres were Khajurāho, Kālañjāra, Mahobā and Ajaigarh, and it lay near to the fertile and coveted region between the Ganges and the Jamnā, sometimes called the kingdom of Kanauj of which we have briefly described the tribulations. It had the advantage of being situated on the rocky highland of ranges of hills, protected in the South by the barrier formed by the Vindhya mountains. Except for Khajurāho, which became a religious centre early in its history, the other foci were generally fortified towns erected on rocky mounds and said to be impregnable: Kālañjāra in particular, standing 800 feet above the plain below, was one of the strongest bastions in existence. Unfortunately, the problem of water was a serious one – and lack of it was the cause of the garrison's surrender to Muslim attack in 1202. The disadvantage lay in the fact that they were the Candella's only means of protection: the fall of one of them opened up a breach which made it practically impossible to obstruct the advance of the assailant. This explains why the Candella constantly took pains to strengthen their citadels and keep them in repair; they learnt how open they were to injury and attack once they had lost any of them.

Another problem arose from the slowness of communications in these mountainous regions. As a result, certain districts were difficult to govern and rule. This difficulty was often increased by the turbulent nature of the mountain clans with whom the Candella always had to reckon, submitting them to special rules and regulations, all of which meant extra work for the government.

Despite these disadvantages, the Candella sovereigns seem to have learned very early in their history what advantages they could draw not only from the physical features of their land but also from the weakness of their suzerains, the Pratīhāra. They seem to have played the game as loyally as possible; they did not free themselves from tutelage until the power of the suzerain was considerably reduced and of little practical value. Still they waited until their own power was firmly established before proclaiming their sovereignty and independence. The ambition which fired them seems to have been tempered by common sense and, without doubt, by their respect for the code of honour which bound them to their suzerain. When internal dissentions shook the foundations of the Pratīhāra empire and when the repeated raids of the invaders jeopardized it completely, the Candella kings took advantage of the situation, judging that the time had come to seize the opportunities offered them.

Nevertheless, they continued their policy of fair play as long as they could, and thereby gained undeniable advantages and, at the same time, the respect of their rivals. This wise policy was introduced by Harsadeva and carried on by his successors. In fact, after the death of Pratīhāra Mahendrapāla (*c.* 893-907) the position of the suzerains of the Candella deteriorated. Not only did Bhoja II and Mahīpāla compete with each other for the throne, but Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III invaded the Pratihāra empire and seized Kanauj and Allahābād, while the Pāla recovered a part of Bihār. The duty of the Candella then coincided entirely with their own interests: called to arms by their suzerain like all the other vassal states, they put their strength at his disposal in order to repel the invaders and had the good fortune to succeed in their enterprise. Thanks to their brave deeds, Mahīpāla was reinstated on the throne. The Candella naturally expected recognition of their bravery in the form of territorial gifts (including perhaps the fortress of Citor), honours, and tokens of distinction which would all help undisputably to increase their budding power. Although the name of the Candella king who contributed in this way to Mahīpāla's restoration is lost to us, there are suppositions which point rather to Harṣadeva than to his son Yaśovarman. Harṣa is described[32] as 'the most excellent of rulers... in whom fortune and eloquence (were) combined, statesmanship (and) heroism, vigour radiant with the quality of goodness and complete patience come to him by nature, contentment and a desire for victory, modesty and self-confidence'. He had made an alliance with the Cāhamāna by marrying Kañcukā, one of their princesses, and was undoubtedly on good terms with the Kalacuri, one of whom had married a Candella princess.

He handed down to his son Yaśovarman, whose mother was princess Cāhamāna Kañcukā, a compact and prosperous kingdom. He was a pious and munificent king, and knew instinctively how to make his heritage grow and flourish. An important event helped him in this: the circumstances of the previous reign repeated themselves; a fresh attack made on them by the Rāṣṭra-

kūṭa, led by Kṛṣṇa III, forced the Pratīhāra yet again to entrust the defence of the empire to their vassal states. Thus Yaśovarman took from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa the fortresses of Kālañjāra and Citor, and added them both to his own domain, either having received them as a gift or refusing to return them to his suzerain. In any case, the suzerain had become too weak to offer any resistance. As a result of this, the power of the Candella increased, especially as these two fortresses were in excellent condition. Yaśovarman did not stop at this though; he led numerous raids and military expeditions in all directions; his son Dhaṅga enumerated with satisfaction his father's victories over the Pāla and the Paramāra of the Mālvā, over the Gauḍa (Bengal) and the Khaśa (Lohara country on the borders of the Kāśmīr State). In Awadh he seized the treasure of the Kośala; he vanquished the Kāśmīri also as well as the princes of Mithilā and the Kuru. Although it is difficult for us to assess the true value of these raids, it is indeniable that his military actions established the power of the Candella State on a firm footing so that henceforth it was virtually independent.

It was under the reign of Yaśovarman that the wonderful buildings in Khajurāho are supposed to have been started, their progress paralleling the consolidation of political power. The king raised a temple to Viṣṇu, the Lakṣmaṇa temple, where he installed a golden image of Vaikuṇṭha (Viṣṇu) which he appears to have extorted from his suzerain, Pratīhāra Devapāla, who had taken it from the Śāhi of Kābul. The image was said to have been made in Tibet.[33]

The zenith of their glory

Nothing now stood in the way of the Candella king pronouncing his independence. Nevertheless, Yaśovarman did not do so yet, and it was his son Dhaṅga (c. 950–1008) who was the first of the dynasty to cease paying tribute to the Pratīhāra. He was the first, too, to undertake to record in inscriptions the heroic deeds attributed to his ancestors. He did not, however, adopt the complete imperial title of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājadhirāja-Parameśvara*. Like Yaśovarman, he took into his own hands the task of conquering new lands and the work of beautifying Khajurāho: the temples of Viśvanātha and Pārśvanātha among others date from his reign. More realistic, perhaps, than his predecessors or, may be, driven by military needs, he transferred the seat of government of Kālañjāra, leaving Khajurāho to fulfil the role of religious centre. Under his leadership, the Candella kingdom moved back its frontiers and spread from the present city of Bhīlsa to the river Tons, from the Jamnā to the Narbadā including the fortress of Gwālior, then in the hands of the Kacchapaghāta, and the cities of Prayāga (Allahābād) and Banaras – which meant that the power of the Candella had practically replaced that of the Pratīhāra. The seizure of Kanauj, which commanded the Doāb region, must have made the Candella as powerful as the Pratīhāra, and this achievement was consecrated by the formal assignment of universal

power (*samrājya*) to Dhaṅga. Beside this considerable domain, which equalled an empire, Dhaṅga boasted of having subdued a number of enemies: the Gauḍa, the Khaśa, the Kośala (North-West part of Orīsā and the Central Provinces), the Kāśmīri, the Mithila (Bihār), the Mālava (Mālvā), the Cedi (district of Jabbalpore), the Kuru (North of Delhi) and the Gūrjara (Gujarāt) and, in addition, the governors of Kratha, Siṁhala (Ceylon) and Kuntala (Central Dekkan) who obeyed him humbly. He claimed, too, to have reduced to his mercy the kings of Kāñcī (South Dekkan), of Āndhra (Central Dekkan), of Rāḍha (Burdwān and Bīrbhūm, districts of West Bengal) and of Aṅga (South Bengal) whose wives 'languished in his prisons'. It would not be wise to believe these statements unreservedly; it is, however, very probable that Dhaṅga carried out raids in these different regions, concluded alliances there, and reaped considerable power and benefit from them.

This large scale military, and probably diplomatic, activity coincided with an important event which Dhaṅga never mentioned but to which his grandson Kīrtivarman referred in one of his inscriptions: the advance of the Muslim invaders. It is reasonable to suppose that Dhaṅga was far from indifferent to the approaching danger: his grandson described him as being equal in strength to the Muslim chiefs (*haṁvīra*, from '*amīr*'). Attempts have been made to identify this chief with Sabuktigīn who, says Firishta,[34] attacked Jayapāla the Śāhi in A.D. 989, or with Maḥmūd of Ghaznī who overcame his successor, Ānandapāla, in 1008. Be that as it may, and taking into account Firishta's statement exaggerated though it may be – the possibility exists that Dhaṅga joined forces with other Indian princes to repulse the Muslim conqueror. This was the first attempt of its kind on the part of the sovereigns of North India, but it must be seen more as a struggle for individual supremacy than a conscious and organized attempt to repulse a common enemy who threatened India's future independence. At all events, it seems that Dhanga was the most powerful sovereign in South India at that time. As the corollary to the development of his kingdom, the most imposing temples, of the greatest wealth and beauty, were built by him: the Kanḍāriya, the Devī Jagadambā, the Citragupta, the Viśvanātha, the Pārśvanātha, the Vāmana and perhaps others, without taking into account the completion of the Lakṣmaṇa or Caturbhuja, which were probably begun by his father Yaśovarman.

An independent king, a conqueror and a great builder, Dhaṅga also protected the various religions, especially the Jaina belief. It appears that he had as *mahārājaguru* a Jain priest named Vāsavacandra and this explains why there are so many Jain foundations to be found in Khajurāho. The Jaina temple Pārśvanātha has an inscription dating from this reign.

We know very little about the character of Dhaṅga. The dominant fact, however, is that he lived to a very ripe old age and this must have had a considerable influence on the development

of his reign. He died a centenarian.[35] Dr. H. Goetz[36] ingeniously supposed that his longevity was due to some rejuvenating process, such as that practised in the tantric cult of the *śākta*, in which Dhaṅga was apparently well versed towards the end of his life. Yet he voluntarily put an end to his life by drowning himself at Prayāga (Allahābād), a town situated in the particularly saintly spot where the Ganges and the Jamnā meet. Whether it was due to the rejuvenation he underwent or to the exceptionally robust health he enjoyed, the tardy death of Dhaṅga would explain the comparatively short reign of his son Gaṇḍa (*c.* 1008–1017). The latter must have fulfilled the duties of heir to the throne during the second half of his father's reign and must have been sixty or seventy years old at the time of his accession. Probably the same unusual situation repeated itself and Gaṇḍa's son, Vidyādhara, reigned during his father's lifetime. Not one inscription referring to Gaṇḍa has been found and nothing is known about him. Despite this lack of information it seems that he kept the Candella domain intact,[37] for Vidyādhara seems to have come into possession of the states conquered by his grandfather Dhaṅga and his great-grandfather Harsa.

Vidyādhara (*c.* 1017–1029) was without doubt the most powerful of the Candella kings and perhaps the most important sovereign in the whole of Central India at that time. His dominions seem to have spread, in the South as far as the mouth of the Cambal and the Narbadā, to the North as far as the Doāb region inclusive, where one of the last of the Pratīhāra, Rājyapāla, governed and whose domain was probably reduced to the sole principality of Kanauj. This Rājyapāla was to be the stumbling block in the most important event in the Vidyādhara's reign and, we might add, in the history of mediaeval India: the Muslim thrust into Bandelkhand. Shortly before 1017 Mahmūd of Ghaznī got the better of the Śāhi ruler of Afghānistān. Continuing his way towards the South-East, he attacked Rājyapāla of Kanauj (1018) and forced him not only to sign a humiliating treaty but also to recognize Muslim supremacy. It is likely that Rājyapāla's behaviour, base and vile according to the code of honour of the *kṣatriya*, was quite unbearable to the Candella Vidyādhara. Perhaps he thought, too, to find in this a pretext for annexing the coveted prize of Kanauj. As soon as Maḥmūd had left the place. Vidyādhara is supposed to have reproached the king of Kanauj vehemently for his cowardice and ordered his feudatory Kacchapaghāta Arjuna to punish him. Arjuna is supposed to have hastened to do so and to have waged a big (?) battle against Rājyapāla who was killed in it. This expedition, which may be called punitive, took place between 1017 and 1019. The result was that Maḥmūd of Ghaznī became worried and his rage was roused against Candella Vidyādhara. He realized that the frontiers of the empire which he had conquered would, in future, border on the land of a person who openly defied him. In 1019 Maḥmūd crossed once again the passes of Afghānistān, reached the Ganges and met the Candella army on the farther bank. The

battle was waged at first with a limited display of forces on both sides, as was customary in the tactics of the time: the battle increased in violence in proportion to the number of combatants either side brought to the field. According to Muslim accounts, Vidyādhara deployed 36,000 cavalry, 145,000 infantry and 390 elephants, obviously an army of considerable strength to oppose an invader far away from his own headquarters. Nevertheless the issue was undecided. It was the custom to stop fighting at nightfall. It was then that the Candella, well trained in Hindu strategy, brought into force the traditional tactics of Indian armies when they found themselves up against an enemy of equal or superior strength.[38] He abandoned camp, leaving it intact, and in the darkness made a silent retreat with the probable intention of meeting Maḥmūd on ground which he considered more favourable to himself. But Maḥmūd did not fall into this trap, either because he did not know the rules, or because he did not care to pit himself again so soon against such a powerful opponent. He contented himself with plundering the abandoned camp and pursuing soldiers who lagged behind or had lost their way. In short, he let Vidyādhara get away, taking his retreat to mean an admission of defeat and returned to Ghaznī, proclaiming himself the victor, obviously satisfied with the booty which had fallen into his hands.

This was not the end of the affair, all the same. In A.D. 1022 Maḥmūd of Ghaznī repeated his attack on Vidyādhara. It was clear that Maḥmūd could not allow a power like that of the Candella to exist. Besides, he was attracted by the prospect of profitable plunder and rich territorial gains. For his part, Vidyādhara wished to remove from his domain a danger, the consequences of which he was well able to gauge, for he had witnessed what had happened in the realm of his ally, the Śāhi. Nor did he wait for Maḥmūd to return to the gates of his kingdom, but brought into action the complicated machine of diplomacy. The defeat and death of the Śāhi, Jayapāla and Ānandapāla, had opened the way for the Muslim invaders to Central India, despite the support Dhaṅga had offered the Śāhi. Vidyādhara resumed, for his part, the policy of his grandfather. He placed Trilocanapāla on the throne of Kanauj instead of his father, the faint-hearted Rājyapāla, whom Vidyādhara is supposed to have put to death, and promised to accord him all his old rights and power. In addition he renewed the alliance between the Candella and the Śāhi whose reigning prince was also named Trilocanapāla. Thus, through diplomacy, he had strengthened his position considerably when Maḥmūd once again invaded the states in 1022.

The Muslim conqueror first laid siege to Gwālior which was probably held by one of Vidyādhara's feudatories. The fortress succumbed after a few days and Maḥmūd moved his camp outside Kālañjāra, the fortress where the king of the Candella lived and which was said to be impregnable. Even from the testimony of the Muslim writers, the siege lasted for a long time. As assailant, Maḥmūd held the more advantageous position; nevertheless we can well believe

that Vidyādhara's strength was not inconsiderable, for, once again, the issue proved indecisive. It even ended on friendly terms, the two kings exchanging compliments and presents. Vidyādhara offered his adversary two hundred elephants, a poem in Hindi, which Maḥmūd seems to have appreciated very much and caused to be translated into his own language, jewels which he appreciated none the less – and other 'treasures'. He received in exchange, beside the congratulations of the Muslims, numerous presents, an order conferring on him the command of fifteen fortresses, and an order – urgently necessary, surely – raising the siege of Kālañjāra. Henceforth Vidyādhara had nothing to fear from Maḥmūd who 'returned in triumph to Ghaznī' and observed to the end the non-aggression pact he had made with the Candella.

Although these events give no precise information about the real character of Vidyādhara, we can nevertheless draw certain conclusions about him. Contrary to the clearly biased opinions of the Muslim writers, this sovereign was evidently a capable diplomatist and a prudent warrior who acted in accordance with the code of honour befitting his rank and his era. He proved that he was clever enough to counter the danger which treatened his states and to which the majority of his contemporaries were forced to submit. His conflicts with Mahmūd of Ghaznī did not prevent him from enforcing his suzerainty on his neighbours. He subdued the Paramāra of Mālvā, Bhojadeva I, relying on the help of the Kacchapaghāṭa of Gwālior, Kīrtirāja, to conquer-Bhojadeva and at the same time to repulse Maḥmūd.[39] He also reduced the Kalacuri of Tripurī, Gāṅgeyadeva, to vassalage. In short, Vidyādhara, like his grandfather Dhaṅga, must have led a Hindu league to resist the Muslim invasion. Under his leadership, the Śāhi sovereigns and those of Kanauj, Mālvā, Gwālior and Tripurī must have formed a sort of coalition which freed Central India, for a time at least, from the threat of the approaching invaders which oppressed them. Nevertheless these indications are deceptive, for, after the death of Vidyādhara, the kingdom of the Candella was to discontinue for thirty years its leadership of the states of Central India. The reasons for this diminuation of power must be sought not only in their statecraft but also in certain influences which were more hidden, more subtle, more difficult to explain.

The decline

The struggle for supremacy was not brought to an end but simply tempered by Vidyādhara's forceful and effectual attitude; once an opportunity offered itself, it would revive again with vigour. This opportunity came with the reign of Vijayapāla (*c.* 1030–1050), Vidyādhara's successor. Although this prince was brave and courageous according to the later inscriptions which refer to him[40], he became, nevertheless, the victim of this struggle. His father's vassals were nearly all still alive and anxious to take advantage of a position which Vidyādhara himself had reestablished or reinforced. Quite probably they now dared to profit from their past services and demanded

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certain concessions from the new king in return for what they had done for his father. In other words they played the game with Vijayapāla which his predecessors had played with the Pratīhāra when they were the suzerains of the Candella. The Kalacuri of Tripurī, Gāṅgeyadeva, and Paramāra Bhojadeva broke their tutelage and ceased to be the vassals of the Candella. They changed, to their own advantage, the treaties made by Vidyādhara and reconstructed against him the coalition which had had the better of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. Prayāga (Allahābād) fell into the hands of Gāṅgeyadeva, while the Kacchapaghāta Mūladeva assisted by Bhojadeva proclaimed his independence.

Control of the most powerful states of Central India now slipped out of the hands of the unfortunate Candella who in about A.D. 1050 left to his son Devavarman a kingdom which had fallen from its glory, decreased in size and was most likely a prey to dangerous internal dissention. If we accept Dr. Goetz's ingenious theory,[41] the cause for this decline lay in the fact that even in Dhaṅga's time a real 'fifth column' was at work in the court and in the intricate machinery of government, a 'fifth column' maintained and supported year in year out by the Candella's own vassals and by the Kalacuri in particular (*infra*, p. 65).

Whatever the causes may have been, the state of his kingdom gave rise to bitter thoughts in Devavarman who became disillusioned by the ephemeral nature of things, the precariousness of youth and the uncertainty of life. He became morbid and melancholic, dwelling on the idea that one half of life is swallowed up in the darkness of night and the remaining half lost in ignorant childhood, sickness, old age and death[42]. This sombre way of thinking was undoubtedly the result of the disappointment he felt on seeing the glorious kingdom of his forefathers slip between his fingers. Foreign threats had continued to increase once Vidyādhara left the scene, and began to take definite effect under the reign of Devavarman, probably between 1051 and 1052.[43] The Kalacuri Lakṣmīkarṇa, son and successor of Gāṅgeyadeva, invaded the Candella kingdom and made it surrender unconditionally. This meant the collapse of a power which had been the political leader of the whole of Central India since the fall of the Pratīhāra. In all probability dramatic internal dissensions played a part in this desperate state of affairs. Perhaps Devavarman himself was the victim of his successor Kīrtivarman. The latter, who seems to have been the king's younger brother, is supposed to have done such cruel things as to kill Devavarman's children and thus ensure his own succession to the throne.

Did Kīrtivarman feel that he was made of different and better stuff than his brother? Was he endowed with a devouring ambition, or was he driven by the schemes of clever courtiers? At any rate, we have the impression that he acceded to the throne at a momentous juncture: for the first time in the history of the Candella, money was minted and the design used is proof of his allegiance to the Kalacuri, for it is a faithful copy of the design used by Gāṅgeyadeva. Never-

theless, he set himself to overcome the critical situation both outside and inside his kingdom. With the support of the *sāmanta* Gopāla, he set out between 1060 and 1064[44] to attack his new suzerain. It is most probable that he was not the only sovereign to undertake such an action, and it is possible that he took part in a new coalition fighting against the Kalacuri Lakṣmīkarṇa, who was the leader of the moment. As for Kīrtivarman, he freed his land from the Kalacuri occupation thus bringing to an end, to the joy of all, the darkest period his line had known up to then. If we can believe the extravagant eulogy written by the author of *Prabodhacandrodaya*, the role played by the *sāmanta* Gopāla in this resounding victory was a considerable one and Kīrtivarman consented to its performance in his presence.[45] Nevertheless, he claimed all the credit for himself when, about forty years later, he recalled the restoration of his realm in his inscriptions. A corollary of this restoration seems to have been a reform of civic morality, which according to the same writer had been considerably relaxed (see *infra*, p. 66), probably under the influence of the 'fifth column' which Dr. Goetz seems to think was in existence and of the Kaulika-Śākta sects, the characteristics of which Mr. Prabodh Chandra has studied.[46] To political victory was added the triumph of religious orthodoxy, in this case the triumph of the Viṣṇu cult over heretical influences. In order to emphasize this revival, Kīrtivarman, as was the custom among Indians, installed himself in the capital Mahobā, thus making it clear that a new policy was to be adopted by his government.

Kīrtivarman's reign was a long one (*c.* 1060–1100): he had therefore the time to consolidate his power and reorganize its administration. The boundaries of his domain are not exactly known. His authority has been vouched for in Deogarh (Lalitpur district), in the whole of the Betwā valley, in Ajaigarh and in Kālañjāra. There is no doubt that he enjoyed the respect and esteem of the sovereigns of his days: the very fact that he had conquered an enemy as hated as the too powerful Kalacuri was in itself a claim to fame and glory.

His son Sallakṣaṇavarman succeeded him and reigned for fifteen years (*c.* 1100–1115); he appears to have ruled his kingdom wisely and made it prosper. As for military activities, he entered into conflict with the Gāhaḍavāla who tried to seize the southern part of the Doāb and probably set himself against their attacks on Kanauj. He appears, too, to have achieved certain successes over Naravarman, the Paramāra of Mālvā and Kalacuri Yaśaḥkarṇa, son of Lakṣmīkarṇa.

We know almost nothing about the following reign, the very short one of Jayavarman (*c.* 1115–1120), son of Sallakṣaṇavarman. One thing we do know, however, is that he caused a document about his ancestors, which had been engraved in A.D. 1002, to be copied. He does not seem to have succeeded in keeping intact the land he had inherited. In 1120 the towns of Chatarpur and Lalitpur fell into the hands of Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra and in all probability a portion of the Candella kingdom too. This was perhaps the reason why he abdicated in favour

of his uncle Pṛthvīvarman and not because he was tired of his responsibilities as was imputed in an inscription found in Kālañjāra. The reign of Pṛthvīvarman (*c.* 1120–1129) is just as obscure as that of his nephew.

However the dynasty had not come to an end yet and it fell to Madanavarman, son of the former king, to retrieve its fortunes once more. Contrarily to many of his predecessors, who did not seem to think it necessary to record their deeds and actions in inscriptions, Madanavarman ordered more than a dozen to be composed. It was recorded that from *c.* 1129 to *c.* 1167 he restored in part the power of the Candella, occupying once again the fortified towns which could guarantee this power: Kālañjāra, Khajurāho, Ajaigarh and Mahobā. He also recovered Chatapur. His domain spread to the districts of Bāndā and Jhansi and extended into Mālvā region beyond the Betwā where it adjoined that of the Caulukya of Aṇahilapāṭaka. He conquered Jayasiṁha Siddharāja who, it appears, had overrun from Dhārā to Kālañjāra.[47] He also defeated Paramāra Yaśovarman and occupied a part of Bandelkhand which he had won from Gayākarṇa or Navasiṁhadeva of the Kalacuri clan. In the North he entertained friendly relations with Govindacandra, the powerful king of Banaras. Then he raided Aṅga, Kaliṅga and Vaṅga. In short his kingdom extended from the Jamnā in the North to the Betwā in the South-East, to the Narbadā in the South up to the border of the Rewā district in the East. This Candella could claim, like his bravest ancestors, 'universal kingship'. Nevertheless, certain of his successes were perhaps short-lived, those over the Kalacuri and the Paramāra in particular. The conflict in the North between him and the Gāhaḍavāla, which had been going on since the previous century, prevented him from guarding his southern frontiers properly, and it is believed that Gāhaḍavāla Jayacandra, the heir to the throne, took advantage of this to inflict, shortly before 1167, a defeat on him in the name of his father Vijayacandra. This defeat marked the end of the Candella's reign which was a long one. He left behind him a restored kingdom with an appearance of power, but it was not so firmly established as in the time of Dhaṅga and Vidyādhara. The neighbouring dynasties were all hostile rivals and no longer vassal states and allies. The Muslim invasion which was about to take place was also to make Madanavarman's reign a difficult one.

His son Yaśovarman seems to have reigned for only two years and it was his grandson Paramardideva who really succeeded him (*c.* 1165–1202). It is not, of course, impossible that Paramardi hastened his own accession in one way or other.

If we give credence to contemporary sources[48] of information, Paramardi was a king whose weakness of character led him to break completely with the tradition of Rājput chivalry. Lacking in courage, very impressionable, irresolute, incapable and nervous, he left to his advisers and his wife, Queen Malandevī, the task of managing his kingdom and defending it. When he came

into power, his domain, more or less equal to that of his forefathers, was in the shape of a triangle, the base of which consisted of the Vindhya, Bhanrer and Kaimur ranges, the sides of the rivers Betwā and Jamnā and the frontier of Baghelkhand. But events outside his domain were to place him in a critical situation, events connected directly and indirectly with the renewal of the Muslim invasion. A few years before Paramardi's accession, the Ghaznevids had removed their capital to Lahore (A.D. 1152) thus drawing nearer to Delhi where the Cāhamāna reigned. A new invader, Muḥammad of Ghōr, more formidable even than Maḥmūd of Ghaznī as he was soon to show when the Ghaznevids as well as the Cāhamāna became his victims, appeared on the scene. The Cāhamāna, for generations the enemies of the Candella, tried to consolidate their position. Their sovereign Pṛthvīrāja III undoubtedly made an alliance with Gāhaḍavāla Jayacandra. Then, in order to make sure of certain indispensible strategical points, perhaps, also, to neutralise an enemy who might stab him in the back, he invaded the states of his neighbour Paramardi in 1182. Without striking a blow he seized Madanpur, Mahobā and probably Kālañjāra too. But he was called back to Delhi, undoubtedly because of the increasing threat of the Muslim advance and failed to hold on to his newly acquired possessions; in fact, a year later (1183), Paramardi retook the same towns. He had hardly time to strengthen his position, if indeed he tried to do so. Before three years had passed (1186), Muḥammad of Ghōr entered Lahore, deposed the Ghaznevids and annexed the Pañjāb. The threat became more definite: a collision between the Ghōrids and the Cāhamāna was inevitable, and the fierce first battle was fought between them at Tarain in A.D. 1191. Muḥammad was defeated by Pṛthvīrāja III, but he avenged himself on the same field of battle in the following year. The Cāhamāna king was killed and Muḥammad seized Delhi (1192). In 1193 it was the turn of Pṛthvīrāja's ally: Gāhaḍavāla Jayacandra fought and died at Chandwar, Muḥammad went on to plunder Kanauj and Banaras.

This double defeat resulted in Muḥammad becoming the neighbour of the Candella; it also opened the way through Bandelkhand to the conquering Muslim, and the insignificant Paramardi was far from being capable enough to bar his way. Bandelkhand was gradually surrounded by the forces of Islam. After taking the Pañjāb and the Doāb, they advanced in the direction of Bengal where the Sena, who shortly before had succeeded the Pāla, succumbed to their attacks (1202). Simultanously Muḥammad of Ghōr advanced into the Candella domain and besieged the famous fortress of Kālañjāra in which Paramardi had sought refuge. Forced by the king's cowardice to take matters into her own hands, the queen, Malandevī, supported by a minister named Ajai Deo, led operations, organized resistance and defended the fortress honourably. Against the will of his fellow-defenders, Paramardi decided to surrender, promising at the same time to pay heavy tribute to the conqueror. However, before he could carry

out this promise, he died, some say a natural death, others by the hand of Ajai Deo who probably regarded the surrender as base and ignominious. At all events, Ajai Deo resumed the struggle, hoisting once again the Hindu flag above the turrets and causing the assailants much anxiety. But it appears that lack of water made the situation unbearable and eventually they were forced to beg for mercy. Ḥasan Nizāmī, a muslim writer of the time, described how the valiant body of troops which had defended the fortress left it: five thousand men were reduced to slavery and the open country swarmed with prisoners. The booty in the form of elephants, cattle and weapons was immense. The temples were turned into mosques. The famous fortress of Kālañjāra, symbol of the power of the Candella and their proudest possession, was henceforth governed by a Muslim.

Once master of this key position, Muḥammad of Ghōr made the most of his chances and shortly afterwards seized Mahobā.

Yet it was not the end of the Candella dynasty. So great was their vitality that once more the situation was restored and this despite the consequences of Paramardi's catastrophic reign. His son Trailokyavarman (*c.* 1203–1250) appears to have regained Kālañjāra before 1205 and extended his kingdom eastwards as far the Son (Rewā district). In the West it included Lalitpur district, and in the North, most probably, Bāndā district. In the South it embraced a part of Saugor district. In addition Trailokyavarman was in possession of the following towns: Jhansi, Saugor, Bijāwar, Pannā and Chatarpur. His capital, which was probably moved to Ajaigarh after the fall of Kālañjāra in the previous reign, doubtless remained there. Finally his generals subdued 'savage' tribes such as the Bhilla, the Śabara and the Pulinda, whose love of raiding and plundering had long exasperated the Candella. This Trailokyavarman, a much cleverer man than his father, succeeded early in the reign in recapturing the fortress of Kālañjāra, a profitable gain when we consider the worth and the prestige of this fortified town. He knew too how to gauge the weaknesses of his neighbours to the West, the Kalacuri, who had taken advantage of the turn of events to snatch back from Paramardi a piece of their western territory. Trailokyavarman decided to recover this. In 1212 after conquering the Kalacuri Vijayasiṁha, he annexed practically the whole of the latter's kingdom, thus bringing the dynasty to an end. In 1233 he held out successfully against a new Muslim attack but this victory seems to have been shortlived.

Once again the Candella sovereign was the most powerful in Central India, thanks to the achievements of Trailokyavarman. His son and successor Vīravarman (*c.* 1250–1286) preserved the same boundaries to his kingdom and had, it seems, little to do with the Muslim armies. He still held Ajaigarh, Kālañjārā and Khajurāho. While his predecessor had expanded his kingdom eastwards, he extended it westwards as far as the region between the Sindhu and

the Betravatī (Datiā district). As a mark of his vast power he carried the full imperial title.

Vīravarman, however, seems to have been the last conquering Candella. His reign was followed by the short one (1286–1288) of Bhojavarman of whom we know little except that he ruled from Ajaigarh and its surrounding districts. We can take it for granted that he was a younger brother of Vīravarman and that he was only a regent during the minority of the future king, Hammiravarman, who was perhaps the son of Vīravarman and therefore the nephew of Bhojavarman. He could, of course, have been an older brother of Hammiravarman and it is not impossible that the Candella kingdom was divided between them. At all events, there are grounds of believing that – though they held certain districts, chiefly the Damoh and the Jabbalpore – the power of the Candella was definitely on the wane. Hammiravarman must have reigned up to about 1310: by 1308 or 1309 Damoh and Jabbalpore were no longer in his hands. Yet the Candella clan is supposed to have governed Kālañjāra and Ajaigarh up to 1540. A Candella king of Mahobā was mentioned in about the year 1545, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Durgāvatī to the king of Garhā-Mandlā: he ruled likewise over Kālañjāra and was killed in 1545 by Sher Shāh when the latter laid siege to the fortress.

Although the name of Candella has survived as a surname in various parts of present-day India, although a family of *zamindar* in Bengal claims royal descent, the Candella line ceased to hold any political sway after the beginning of the XIVth century. In the course of about twenty successive reigns this clan had endowed Central India with remarkable military strength so that on several occasions she was able to withstand the terrible Muslim conquerors.

But the most precious testimony of their existence which they have handed down to posterity is, without doubt, the amazing collection of architectural works in Khajurāho.

VĀMANA. Śiva

LIFE IN THE CANDELLA DOMAIN
AS DESCRIBED IN DOCUMENTS OF THE PERIOD

In using the facts concerning this family which we come across in dramatic literature and epigraphical texts, we must endeavour to distinguish between those relating to actual events and those relating to traditional, – not to say conventional, – beliefs. It is difficult to discern the truth behind the bombast and the poetic license of paid scribes, and to reconstruct a character-portrait, albeit vague, of these sovereigns. However, even if the human aspect is hidden behind a web of metaphors and can only be seen through this web, certain institutions are more easily discerned. We are bound to admit that the Candella king tried – sometimes with success – to resemble as much as possible the type of sovereign glorified in the sacred texts, that is to say the universal king. Yet, with a true sense of timing, they revealed this tendency only gradually and made shift with royal epithets while under the tutelage of the Pratīhāra.[49]

But after Dhaṅga's reign (A.D. 954–1008) which opened up the way to their political independence, they decided to assume the title in full. From that time onwards the personality of the traditional Indian universal sovereign became the ideal which they strove to achieve.

The king and the State

By the law of succession, the eldest son was entitled to succeed his father. Failing this, his younger brother or his uncle ascended the throne of the deceased king. It sometimes occured that in the closing years of his life, the king abdicated in favour of his heir. Behaviour was modelled on those held up as examples in sacred writings and in epic tales. The Candella king was not only the unquestioned head of the State and the government but of the army too, and as such he applied the rules of territorial conquest *(digvijaya)*, which prompted him, once he became king, to traverse the boundaries of his kingdom, in the direction of the sun's course with a view to extending these boundaries ever further. Naturally, the order of his military campaigns did not always fit in with this itinerary which was planned in theory only, and it is reasonable to believe that the conquest of the Candella were based more on necessity and opportunity than on a strict observance of this imperial rite. They were, however, anxious to carry it out symbolically if not literally, so they adhered to the rules laid down in the texts about tours of inspection and visited every corner of the realm, without overlooking the smallest village. Thus, too, they were able to examine, with full knowledge of the facts, the administration of state and local affairs. Although their authority was absolute in these matters and their judgement not accountable to anyone – they even made all the decisions in military undertakings, – they were nevertheless assisted in their task by a council of ministers, by a *senāpati* placed at the head of military and foreign affairs, and by a *sāndhivigrahika* entrusted with matters of war and peace.

The land *(bhukti)* was divided into districts *(viṣaya* and *maṇḍala)*, and vassals *(sāmanta)* or members of the royal family *(nṛpa, mahārājaputra)* were entrusted with their government. These districts, especially the *viṣaya*, were further divided into several areas which varied in size and importance according to the number of villages *(grāma)* they contained: *pañcela* (villages), *dvādaśaka* (twelve villages), *aṣṭadaśaka* (eighteen villages) or even a sort of local government *(paṭṭalā)* grouping villages of indefinite number. As was the case throughout India, the village was the basic factor on which the State was founded (called in this particular part, it seems, Jejābhukti).[50] It was governed by a sort of municipal council consisting of local dignitaries and an 'old man' *(mahāttara)* who was elected as head. A special system of government was adopted in fortified towns which were of primary importance in a country so often subjected to military attacks. Situated in mountainous regions, these fortresses controlled the way into the interior and played an indispensable part in protecting the population and obstructing the enemy's advance. They were governed by an officer appointed by the king and supervised by an inspector general *(viśiṣa)*. The names of some of these inspectors are mentioned in the inscriptions: for example, under Kīrtivarman, a certain Maheśvara was in charge of the fortress of Kālañjāra; under Trailokyavarman, Ajaigarh was supervised by Vāśe of Vāśeka and his younger brother Ānanda was its governor *(durgādhikārin)*. Although he managed the affairs of state personally, the king was nevertheless assisted by a council of ministers. These were eminent men and largely responsible for running the country, with a chief minister, *mantrimukhya*. Despite the fact that this office was a heriditary one, certain qualities and capabilities and a thorough training were insisted upon. Chosen from families where the function of minister was handed down from father to son, they still had to give proof of their practical knowledge, their ability, their integrity and their loyalty. In addition they had to sit a kind of test and only when they had passed it were they established in their posts. The qualities essential to ministers were piety and the observance of rites, irreproachable morals and the gift of eloquence; they had to be expert in military science and seem to have had to follow a special course of training. Their duties were many and varied but it is not easy to describe them from the names given to them. The highest post was that of Prime Minister *(mantrimukhya)*. He was not only the superintendent, so to speak, of the administrative side of government but the king's adviser as well.[51] Another term, *saciva*, seems to have covered duties very similar to those of the *mantrimukhya* who, it was clearly understood, had the right to control several departments at the same time. One of the first *mantri* known to us by name was Prabhāsa who lived in the reign of Dhaṅga (*c.* 950 1008). He played an important part in the history of the Candella, for he was the first of a long line of *mantri* and *saciva* who served Candella sovereigns for about two centuries. Prabhāsa himself claimed

Ministers and Government

descent from Gautama Akṣapāda who professed to be the founder of *Nyāya*, one of the six philosophical systems *(darśana)* of India. He held, as proof of his nobility, that the famous philosopher whose realistic doctrine was based on logic and addressed to Śiva, was one of his ancestors. Prabhāsa was undoubtedly a capable *mantri* since he continued to hold office under Dhaṅga's successor Gaṇḍa (*c.* 1008–1017). He had a son, Śivanāga, who was *saciva* under Vidyādhara (*c.* 1017–1028). Śivanāga's son, Mahīpāla, became, in turn, *saciva* under Vijayapāla (*c.* 1030–1050). Mahīpāla had two sons, Ananta and Yogeśvara. Ananta, who had two wives[52], was *saciva* under Kīrtivarman (*c.* 1060–1100) and had several departments under his control. He managed to secure official positions for his four sons Vatsa, Gadādhara, Pradyumna and Vāmana. The second, Gadādhara, started his career in the government of Sallakṣaṇavarman (*c.* 1100–1115) while his father retained his important posts. But Ananta, in accordance with the widespread custom of the time, committed suicide during Jayavarman's reign, that is between 1117 and 1120 by drowning himself ritually at the confluence of the Jamnā and the Ganges, as Dhaṅga had done.[53] Gadādhara was then raised to the status of *pratihāra* (chamberlain) to Jayavarman and attained to the supreme position of *mantrimukhya* under Pṛthvīvarman (*c.* 1120–1129), and continued to hold it in the following reign under Madanavarman (*c.* 1129–1163). It is possible that he died before the end of the latter's reign, for another *mantri* is known to have held office under Madanavarman, namely Lāhaḍa of the *gotra* of Vasiṣṭha. The genealogy of this Lāhaḍa is also known to us. His grandfather Lakṣmīdhara is supposed to have been the founder of the line. While Lāhaḍa was Madanavarman's *mantri*, Lakṣmīdhara's younger son Gadādhara combined the functions of *mahāsaciva* with those of minister of war and peace *(saṅdhāna-vigraha)* and with that of chief of poets *(kavicakravartin)*. Out of the marriage of Lāhaḍa and Prabhā, Sallakṣaṇa was born and he became prime minister under Paramardi (*c.* 1165–1202). Sallakṣaṇa had a son called Puruṣottama who succeeded his father as *saciva*. We may also note the names of two *saciva* who held office under Bhojavarman despite the fact that his reign was a very short one (*c.* 1286–1288). These were Subhaṭa and Nāna. The former came from a long line of eminent officials; his ancestor Jājuka had been appointed by Gaṇḍa to succeed the *mantrimukhya* Prabhāsa. He was the grandson of Ānanda, governor *(durgādhikārin)* of Ajaigarh, the fortress under the control of the inspector general *(viśiṣa*, a title apparently peculiar to the Candella State)[54] Vāśe, Ānanda's brother. Subhaṭa combined his duties as *saciva* with those of chief treasurer *(kośādhikārādhipati*, also called *kośādhipati)*.

The *pratihāra* or *mahāpratihāra*, the chief of protocol, worked in even closer connection with the king than the *mantri* and fulfilled in addition, the role of private counsellor. The fact that he had held such a privileged position after his father's death, made it possible for Gadādhara to

reach the rank of prime minister: the king had been able to judge his qualities for himself. Other *mahāpratihāra* are known to us, such as Saṁgrāmasiṁha under Madanavarman.

Other titles which appear in the documents seem to have been more honorific than functional: *dūta* and *ṭhakkura* for example. The latter seems to connote considerable influence and to be associated with the highest posts in court. The *ṭhakkura* Jājuka, under Gaṇḍa, is known to us, as are Nṛsiṁha under Madanavarman, Udayasiṁha under Trailokyavarman and others.

The rank of *purohita* applied most probably to the Brāhman charged with the carrying out of religious ceremonies in the palace. He was obliged, like the *paṇḍita* – whose rank was purely honorary and bestowed only on Brāhmans well versed in the holy scriptures – to bring a measure of influence to bear on government affairs which where concerned with religion. What they actually did is not quite clear; nor do we know whether, as persons, they were tolerant, as the Candella kings were, to the religious sects, including Jainism and Buddhism. We can take it for granted that they prospered and were well to do, for kings and dignitaries founded, at every turn, important temples and endowed them with large sums of money. In this same category we must mention the *mahārājaguru* who under Dhaṅga was a Jain called Vāsavacandra.

We would draw attention too, to the rank of *amātya* which, as we have seen, could be added to that of Prime Minister as in the case of the *ṭhakkura* Vatsarāja under Kīrtivarman. This post seems to have been held by a minister or high official appointed to administer the State revenues.[55] But the offices of *bhāṇḍāgarika* and *kośādhikārādhipati* which, under the Candella, may have been synonymous, seem, in general, however, to be more important. The state revenues consisted chiefly of claims or taxes levied on land, trees, drugs, cattle, gold, silver and copper-mines, the fruits of the earth and intestate property. To these were added revenue from tolls and customs, duties from privileges, and various fines. Economically speaking, however, the State does not seem to have been very prosperous, the reason probably being that there were such enormous expenses to meet, expenses which swallowed up most of the public funds. Besides the fact that commerce with foreign lands was not very developed, the extensive construction of temples, ponds, masonry embankments for reservoirs and more and more fortresses, each bigger and stronger than the last, and the large scale organization of military expeditions, all these must have cost large sums of money which the taxes could not hope to counterbalance. The king's revenues and those of the State were often pooled together and it is impossible to reconstitute in detail their system of keeping accounts. All we know is that, under the high authority of the *kośādhipati*, certain officials were entrusted with this work, among others the *akṣapaṭalika* in the Accounts Office or in the Record Office, and the *karaṇika* who supervised registrations and kept the accounts in Sanskrit. Among the latter was a certain Jaddha who lived in Dhaṅga's time and who was highly praised for his knowledge of grammar. The *kāyastha* were scribes or writers

and the role they played was often an important one.[56] Among these were Yaśaḥpāla who lived in the reign of Dhaṅga; Ṭhāsīsuḍha under Madanavarman; under Paramardi, Pṛthvīdhara who belonged to the Vāstavya line and carried the title of *dharmalekhi* which implied that he was a law scholar; under Trailokyavarman, Mālādhara, Muktasiṁha and Udayasiṁha, the latter bearing the important title of *ṭhakkura* (A.D. 1241). Finally we have the *aṭavika* whose special duty was to look after the forests and the 'savage' tribes on whom, probably, certain taxes in kind were levied.

Royal gifts were free of tax. All territory presented by the king automatically included full right to the tract of land itself and to everything on and in it – trees, crops, cattle, animals living on it, all that grew out of the earth and lay under it, quarries, etc. On these privileged tracts of land the prospection and exploitation of mines was tax-free while everywhere else they were entrusted to concessionaries and were heavily taxed. Royal gifts consisted usually of villages, gardens, buildings or temples to which on occasion a sum of money in gold was added. Such gifts were most often presented to Brāhmans, whether they lived in monasteries or held positions in court. Thus some buildings were constructed at Khajurāho in 1001–1002, and lands were presented by the king to Brāhmans living in the city. The presentation of gifts to the Brāhmans increased the prestige of the giver: the kings therefore gave them increasingly. Villages were give to a *ṭhakkura* by Gaṇḍa; to a *viśiṣa* by Kīrtivarman and later to another *viśiṣa* by Trailokyavarman; to a Brāhman *senāpati* by Paramardi, to a *paṇḍita* and so on. Immigrant Brāhmans were particularly favoured and lists have been found of the gifts presented to them individually or in groups, – such as the group of 309 of exiled Brāhmans mentioned in an inscription of the XIIth century. The son of a *rāūta* who was killed at the battle of Kakaḍādaha waged against the Muslim invaders and himself a *rāūta*, benefited in the same way from the king's generosity. Donations were made to Jaina foundations too, especially at Khajurāho in 1055.

The special administrative work which these donations entailed was carried out by other functionaries; these were the *dharmalekhi* or professional clerks who drafted the agreements. It appears that, in view of their special legal knowledge, part of their work was to draw up legal documents. It is difficult to know exactly whether a *dharmādhikāra*, who was head of this administrative branch, was a minister or a chief justice. In any case he was a very important figure. Under Dhaṅga the *dharmādhikāra* Yaśodhara was also the *purohita* of the palace (1001–1002).

The kingdom being above all military in character, much time and attention was devoted to foreign affairs and police. The responsibility as a whole was entrusted to the minister of war and peace, *sāndhivigrahika*. It is difficult to judge what authority he really had, at least in matters of war, since the king and his commander-in-chief of the army *(senāpati)* held practically all the power in their own hands. Paramardi's *sāndhivigrahika*, Gadādhara, was at the same

time *mahāsaciva* and *kavicakravartin*. Further, dicipline in the forts was maintained by the royal officers, the *rāūta*, (for *rājaputra*), under the supervision of the *viśiṣa*, and in the streets and various parts of the towns by policemen who saw that law and order was kept by 'checking wickedness'. Under the authority of the *senāpati*, the various army corps constituted the vital element of the kingdom. At this time, however, the two chief corps were those of the elephants – which clearly took first place – and of the horse. The chariots had been out of date for a long time and mention of them was made only as a convention; the infantry did not have the same dignity as the mounted divisions. Under this feudal system, the royal leaders seem to have had as much administrative as military power, and civil affairs were not distinguished from those concerned with defence.

We can judge the power of the *senāpati* and the royal favour which supported it if we consider one or two of them. The *senāpati* Gopāla, for example, who helped Kīrtivarman to regain his throne, was not only authorized by the king to produce a play written to commemorate his victory but also to see that songs in praise of his own achievements were sung in public.[57] Gopāla was a Brāhman just like Paramardi's *senāpati*, Madanapāla, who also bore the title of *ṭhakkura* as his father and grandfather had done before him, a very exalted title in the hierarchy of the Candella nobility. Among the *viśiṣa* in addition to Gopāla, mentioned above, Kīrtivarman had also appointed Maheśvara (who belonged to the Jājuka line) to the fort of Kālañjāra. We have already mentioned the *viśiṣa* Vāśeka who was charged with the administration of Ajaigarh fort where his brother Ānanda was governor or *durgādhikārin*. Now Vāśeka and Ānanda were descendants of Maheśvara. The *rāūta*, more often *kṣatriya* than Brāhmans, were often mentioned in the inscriptions. They presented gifts to the people (for example a well in time of drought), and to other *rāūta*, or themselves received gifts from the king. Among them we may mention Veda under Madanavarman; Sīhaḍa under Paramardi; under Trailokyavarman, Sāmanta or Sāvanta whose father, Pāpe, also a *rāūta*, had been killed by the Turks in 1205; Sāṅge and five other *rāūta* whose names are given in an inscription dated A.D. 1240 must all have lived under the same king; Jetana and Abhi in the reign of Vīravarman and others. There is no doubt that these prominent figures formed a sort of military aristocracy and enjoyed a high degree of power.

In the field of art and literature – to which the Candella kings paid great attention – we find many references to official posts. At the top of the hierarchy was the chief of poets, the *kavicakravatin* or *kavīndra*, whose title suggests the superiority of his rank. The genealogies of some of them show that the office was hereditary: under Dhaṅga the *kavi* Rāma was the grandson of the *kavi* Nandana of the Śabara-vaṁśa; another *kavi*, under the same king, was called Mādhava. Under Paramardi, the *kavindra* Devadhara was the son of the *kavicakravartin* Gadādhara. Under Vīravarman the *kavi* Ratnapāla was the son of the *kavi* Haripāla and so on. One grade lower came the

bālakavi whose title suggests his youth and probably inexperience as compared with the real expert in grammar. Here again it was a question of hereditary functions: thus the *bālakavi* Dharmadhara was the younger brother of the *kavīndra* Devadhara mentioned above.

The lines they composed were engraved on stone or metal by the *rūpakāra* or the *uccakāra* and they were probably sanctioned by the *dharmalekhi*. The *rūpakāra* were not only engravers of inscriptions but also sculptors who built icons for the sanctuaries. We have the names of a few of them. In the reign of Dhaṅga, a certain Siṁha; under Madanavarman, Lāhaḍa, Laksmīdhara, Lakhana, Rāmadeva and Jalhaṇa who called himself a skilful artist *(vijñānin)*. Under Paramardi, Devarāja, Mahārāja, and the king's favourites Padma and his young brother Deoka. Under Vīravarman, Rāma, and others.

The architects *(sūtradhāra)* built the temples - and we can imagine that they had plenty of work to do in the days of the Candella. In the reign of Dhaṅga there was an architect called Chiccha to whom the magnificent construction of the Viśvanātha temple in Khajurāho has been ascribed.[68] One of the architects under Madanavarman was called Suprata. The last stages of the work were done by *rūpakāra* or sculptors and *citrakāra* or painters who were skilled in the branches of art. In fact it seems that the artists *(śilpin)* – true to Indian tradition – had a wide knowledge of various techniques. So it was that one individual called Pālhaṇa who worked in the time of Paramardi was trained to be *śilpin*, an engraver on copper *(pītalahāra)*, a skilful artist *(vijñānin)* and a master of art and technique *(vaidagdhī - viśvakarman)*. The name of another *śilpin* who lived in the reign of Trailokyavarman has come down to us, Jayasiṁha. Finally those who were skilled in the working of iron were also allowed to appear in official inscriptions.

It is unfortunate that so much is missing in the records handed down to us, for the impression we have of the Candella State is far from complete. Nevertheless a picture emerges which is something like this: under the absolute authority of the king, the Prime Minister *(mantrimukhya)* and the Commander-in-chief of the army *(senāpati)* govern the kingdom, while more specific duties like those of the *purohita* and the Lord Chamberlain *(pratihāra)* bring much influence to bear on affairs of state and of religion. Great importance is accorded to the department of military affairs which is run by the *senāpati* and where the Minister of War and Peace *(sāndhivigrahika)* plays a part; the officers *(rāūta)*, the governors *(durgādhikārin)*, the inspector generals *(viśiṣa)* see that order is kept while another officer looks to the maintenance of civil order. The work of these affairs is of primary importance since the security of the kingdom depends on the fortresses which also receive the king's closest attention. The public treasury and the royal treasury, so easily confused, are in the care of the Lord of the Treasury *(kośādhikārādhipati)* who sees that the taxes are collected, assisted in this by officials of the Registry Office *(karaṇika)*, by scribes *(kāyastha)* and inspectors of taxes *(aṭavika)*. Legislation is carried out by lawyers *(dharmalekhi)*

and judges *(dharmādhikāra)*; these deal, among other things, with donations – which are in high favour in royal circles and which claim in addition the combined talents of the chief of poets *(kavicakravartin* or *kavīndra)* and his subordinates *(kavi* and *bālakavi)* as well as of a team of technicians – architects *(sūtradhāra)*, sculptors and engravers in stone *(rūpakāra)*, painters *(citrakāra)*, engravers on copper *(pītalahāra)*, workers in iron *(ayaskāra)* and artists and artisans in general *(śilpin)*.

The religious aspect of the kingdom

In most cases, the highest posts were accorded to Brāhmans who, in addition, received honorary titles and costly gifts which were tax-free. For, in accordance with the obligations of royal tradition, the Candella never failed to provide donations of this kind even during the least flourishing periods of their history. They saw to it that such gifts, gold, cows, corn, umbrellas, land, villages *(brāhmapuri)* and buildings, were presented on the day made auspicious by an eclipse of the moon or the sun, on the day of full moon, or on the anniversary of the death of parents or on similar occasions. The ceremony which accompanied the presentation was of a decidedly religious nature. After bathing in a sacred pool, the king performed a sacrifice to gods, men and spirits, prayed, worshipped the sun and made a fire-offering. The act of gift was then completed by the traditional purification of the hands of the donor by the receiver, who, after purifying some water with blades of *kuśa* grass, poured a few drops on the king's hands, while murmuring the word 'svasti' in solemn affirmation of his acceptance of the gift. The greatest importance was attached to religious matters under the Candella. The Brāhmans, whether they were prime ministers, commanders-in-chief of the army or officials of varying importance, were, above all, custodians of religious and philosophical knowledge whose excellent qualities were praised unwearyingly. The Brāhmans undertook the education of children and taught large numbers of them. This explains the abundant allusions to Vedic and philosophic texts including literature, grammar, politics, economies, law and military technique. Proof of the esteem in which philosophers were held, can be found in the example of the *mantrimukhya* Prabhāsa, under Dhaṅga, who claimed that the founder of one of the six *darśana* of India was one of his ancestors. Genuine or bogus, this claim gave him incomparable prestige. The science of philosophy is often mentioned in the inscriptions under the names of the various schools of thought, Sāṁkhya, Nyāya, and so on.

As was fitting, each major sanctuary – at Khajurāho and other religious sites – enshrined a sacred image of the god to whom the temple was dedicated. Although the Candella inscriptions give no information concerning the consecration of these sacred images, we can, with the help of literary descriptions such as those in the *Matsyapurāṇa* (cclxiv, 13–34),[59] conjure up a picture of the complicated ritual which took place: 'We will build a pavilion to the North or to the East of

LAKṢMAṆA. Decoration under a balcony

the temple. It will measure ten, twelve or sixteen cubits. In the centre will be an altar, four, five or seven hands long, and sealed on all sides. The pavilion will have four sides and four portals: the door on the East side will be of *plakṣa* wood, on the South of *uḍumbara*, on the West of *aśvattha* and on the North of *nyagrodha*. The foundations will be one cubit deep and the height four. The ground will be cleared and smoothed and made beautiful: various fabrics, flowers and foliage will adorn it.

'When the pavilion is ready, eight perfect jars, without a single crack or chip in them, will be placed at the four doors; each will contain a piece of shining gold. They will be swathed in white fabric and filled with water and sandalwood, with medicinal herbs and different kinds of fruit, and covered with mango leaves.

'Once the vases have been taken into the pavilion, banners will be set all about to the accompaniment of perfume and burning incense and other tributes. We will plant, at the four points of the compass, the banners of the Regents of the world (guardian deities of the four cardinal points) and, in the centre of the pavilion, a standard in the form of a cloud.

'We will scatter perfume and incense, reciting, as we do so, suitable formulae in their correct order. To the Regents we will make a flight offering, reciting an appropriate formula. We will make offerings to Brahmā casting them upwards, to Śeṣa or to Vāsuki casting them downwards, and to the Regents, casting them in all directions. We will make use of formulae, fitting to these deities, which are in the *Saṃhitā* and (generally) in the texts of divine revelation. The occupation of the image by the deity is accomplished in three nights or in a single night or in five nights or in seven.

'After the pavilion with its portals has been erected and the principle ritual of possession has been accomplished, we will construct another pavilion for the bathing of the image during the second, third and fourth part (of the ceremony).

'We will then bring forward the *liṅga* or image and present gifts of garments, pearls and jewels to the artists and to their assistants. At the moment the sacrificer has said to them: 'Excuse me' the sacred image will be placed on its throne and enlightment will be brought to its eyes.

'I will describe in short how the eyes of the image are brought into being and this applies to the *liṅga* too.[60] First a flight offering is made, in all directions in space, with sesame herbs, transparent butter, and a milk cake. Then we will adorn the image with white flowers, butter, bdellium and incense, and cause the Brāhmans to recite, presenting to them a ritual payment appropriate to the donor's position. A cow, land, gold will be presented to him who instals the image. A Brāhman will then give the image a name, reciting with sincerety and conviction as he does so, the following formula: "*Oṁ!* Homage to the Blessed One, to Śiva, to the Supreme Lord, to the golden Sperm (Agni), to thee, Viṣṇu, homage to thee who assumeth all forms!"

By means of this formula light is brought to the eyes of all divine images. Once we have thus summoned the heavenly master, we will outline the eyes with a stick of gold.

'Then auspicious music will be played, and sacred texts will be recited to the accompaniment of chants, so as to ensure prosperity and put evil influences to flight'.

We can well imagine the ostentation and display which accompanied such a ceremony at Khajurāho. The awe-inspiring temples provided an imposing setting, more particularly on the occasion of the consecration of a royal foundation such as the Laksmaṇa Temple by Lakṣavarman in A.D. 953-954 or the Viśvanātha Temple by Dhaṅga in 1002. But the consecrations made in the name of exalted officials must often have been as luxurious as those made by royalty.

The Candella kings, judging from their inscriptions, worshipped Śiva and Viṣṇu simultaneously and joint invocations to the two gods are not uncommon. In the royal charters, however, Śiva is more apt to be recognized as the protector of the dynasty, probably because 'he wears a crescent *(candra)* on his head'.[61] Whether this was the reason or not, there are other indications of the important role played by Śiva, the chief one being that the largest temple of Khajurāho, the Kaṇḍāriya, was dedicated to him. And, even stronger proof, the national fortress of Kālañjāra, - the kingdom's pride, – was often said to be the dwelling place of this god. In this the Candella were undoubtedly only conforming to local customs and traditional lore. Certain seals and coins have been found which prove this. In Bhīṭā, Sir John Marshall[62] found a seal bearing an inscription in Northern Gupta characters which runs: *Kālañjārabhaṭṭārakasya* (of the lord of Kālañjāra). Now even if Śiva temples no longer exist in Kālañjāra, there can be no doubt that this seal was issued by one of them.[63] Besides, the hill of Kālañjāra is referred to on two occasions, in the *Mahābhārata*, (chapt. 85, vvs 56–57 and chapter 87 vs. 21), as well as in the *Matsyapurāṇa* (chapt. 181 vs. 27) as being a hill, rich in Śaiva temples, situated somewhere between Prayāga and Citrakūṭa, where the god dwells. He is represented, on Bhītā coins, by a very realistic *liṅga* erected on a hill of regularly piled-up spheres above an undulating line which Mr. J. N. Banerjea takes to be a river. Sir Alexander Cunningham[64] had long before pointed out that Kālañjāra was one of the favourite dwelling places of Śaiva *tapasvin*. It may be noted that of the eight temples dedicated to Śiva still standing at Khajurāho, five possess a *liṅga* in the main sanctuary.[65] In addition, from the number of other *liṅga* found on the same site, it seems clear that this particular aspect of the god was specially worshipped in the Candella kingdom. Moreover, an inscription supports this theory, linking the cult of the *liṅga* with the royal cult. Cemented in one of the walls of the *maṇḍapa* of the Viśnavātha Temple, this inscription describes Dhaṅga's erection in 1002-1003 of a Śiva temple (identified as the Viśvanātha) in which were installed an emerald *liṅga*, Śambhu Marakateśvara *(marakata* 'emerald'),

and another liṅga, this one of stone.[66] The cult of the *liṅga* must have spread throughout Bandelkhand as a number of Śaiva sects were established and developed there. We will return to their system of rites and ceremonies at a later stage.

Even if the *liṅga* played an important part in the iconography of the time, the forms of the god were, nevertheless, many and varied. He appeared under the following names, epithets and guises and the list given here is by no means complete: Mahādeva, the greatest of the gods of benevolent aspect, possessed a temple at Khajurāho; Īśvara, the Lord; Maheśvara, the Lord Supreme; Śarva, one of the eight names of Śiva as Rudra, the 'arrow-wielder', to whose glory the *Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad* was dedicated and whose cult, handed down from ancient times (i.e. before the Christian era), was developed by Śaiva sects. Many more names appeared in the Candella inscriptions: Nīlakaṇṭha, Viśvanātha, Kedāra, Paśupati, Vṛṣabha, Vaidyanātha, Śaṅkara, Śūladhara, Tryambaka, Digambara, Purāri etc.

Viṣṇu too was often worshipped and many images of this god have been found throughout the length of the kingdom. One of the most beautiful temples in Khajūrāho, the Lakṣmaṇa, was dedicated to him under the name of Caturbhuja, of whom the principal representation links the god in human form with two of his *avatāra*, Narasiṁha and Varāha. In the reign of Kīrti-varman, Kṛṣṇa Miśra, author of the *Prabodhacandrodaya*, was a fanatic Vaiṣṇava and the entire play gives expression to his attachment to this belief and extols the Advaita school of thought. Documents of the time often add the epithet Caturbhuja to Viṣṇu's name and the god was indeed represented with four arms. He was worshipped likewise as Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva; both these forms were strongly influenced by *bhakta* cults. Nārāyaṇa, embryo of the universe, born of the primordial waters and from whom all the gods are descended, was regarded in the Middle Ages as one of the heavenly reincarnations *(divya)* of the god. Vāsudeva's cult had been established since the second or the first centuries B.C.[67] This sectarian and probably very ancient god, who gradually came to be confused with Viṣṇu, remained, in addition to his divine aspects, the hero in human form (Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa),[68] the bearer of the solar wheel *(cakra)*.[69] A temple dedicated to him probably stood in Bhīṭā in the time of the Gupta emperors[70] and his images were supposed to be made of stone which had been preserved by the rays of the sun and was of a pale brown colour, yellow or black *(Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra)*. Although he was able to assume twenty-four different guises, he was one of the chief elements of monotheism towards which the *bhakta* cults tended, even as Pāśupata adepts concentrated on Rudra-Śiva. Mention must be made of a very beautiful Viṣṇu image, its back against a stele, which was found in Khajurāho. It forms a curious iconographical exception[71]: seated in *yogāsana* on a lotus with turned-down petals, adorned with a *vanamālā*, he points with the raised index finger of his front left arm to the left corner of his lower-lip, a gesture *(vismaya-hasta)* signifying wonder, astonishment

(vismaya) and reflection *(vitarka)*; he seems, too, to insist on the silence and tranquility essential to mystic concentration. Flanked by two female assistants, probably Śrī and Bhūmi, surmounted by two *vidyādhara* in flight and carrying garlands, the image rests on a socle adorned with three figures which probably represent the donors of the image. The incarnations *(avatāra)* of Viṣṇu are also often named, the chief ones being Narasiṁha, Varāha (of whom a huge statue was erected in Khajurāho, see plate cxxv), Vāmana, Kṛṣṇa (another aspect of Vāsudeva) and Rāma. A statue of Viṣṇu with eleven heads representing the god and his ten principal *avatāra*, is still *in situ* in the Citragupta temple. The god is also called Hari, Puruṣottama, Śauri, Murāri, Vaikuṇṭha, Mādhava, Upendra, Śakra, Daityārāti etc.

Other divinities of the Brāhman pantheon are also worshipped, among them Indra, the pre-eminently Aryan god, whom the Greeks, in former times, identified with Zeus. He was Regent of the East and the king of the gods. Riding an elephant and sometimes furnished with a third eye in the middle of his forehead, he was the first Brahmanic god to be represented in anthropomorphic form.[72] Although solemn festivals were celebrated annually in his honour,[73] the cult of Indra in the Middle Ages does not seem to have included devotion to his images which has been turned over to the Bhakti instead. There was also Sūrya, the Sun-god, whose adepts, the Saura constituted one of the five principal sects of Brahmanism. His cult, which showed undeniable signs of Iranian characteristics, was completely indianized in the time of the Candella.[74] That it was fashionable in Northern India, is proved by the erection of several large temples, the most famous being at Moḍherā (Gujarāt) and Konārak (Orīsā). The Citragupta temple at Khajurāho was dedicated to him and still shelters an image, five feet in height, of this god. Distinguished by his Parthian costume – of which hardly anything remains except the high boots which were, to say the least, an unusual article of clothing in such a hot climate – he drives a chariot drawn by horses, as Apollo was wont to do, holding in his hands two lotus flowers in full bloom (the flower is closed in Southern iconography). The cult of this god was one of the most constant elements in the syncretic iconography on which the *pañcāyatana* worship of the Smārta was based, and one of the most striking evidences for the spirit of tolerance in the Middle Ages. This spirit was plainly apparent in Khajurāho where one of the most characteristic examples of it is carved on the west wall of the Śaiva sanctuary of the Dulādeo temple. Furnished with eight arms and seated in *padmāsana*, this image unites the attributes of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Sūrya, the presence of the latter being furthermore confirmed by his coat of mail covering part of his torso, by three of the seven horses (four have been smashed) of the sun-chariot and by the effigy (mutilated) of Aruṇa.[75] Thus Sūrya is closely linked with the three great gods of Hinduism who combined to form the Trimūrti. In the same era, Sūrya formed a part of various other groups of gods of which the following were the most typical:

Śivaliṅga, Gaṇapati, Viṣṇu, Pārvatī and Sūrya. Or: Umā - Maheśvara, Viṣṇu, Sūrya and Gaṇapati. Or again: Hari - Hara, the Buddha and Sūrya; Lokeśvara and Sūrya (beginning of the XIIth century); Sūrya and Nārāyaṇa; Sūrya and Brahmā (XIth century); and finally, though not so common, Sūrya and Śiva (XIIth century).

Among the deities mentioned under the Candella, Candra, the Moon, was readily granted a place of honour, although, in general at this time, it belonged to the secondary deities of the cosmic elements, astral or atmospheric, who gravitated about the great gods. The fact that the sovereign of Bandelkhand claimed descent from the moon had something to do with this predilection. In the same way, the Navagraha are represented on several occasions, and as often in Śaiva sanctuaries as in Jaina temples.

Then comes Brahmā, creator of the cosmos.[76] His position was a curious one, since the pre-eminent role he played as creator, did not fit in with the inferior place accorded to him in the pantheon. It was not one of the lesser paradoxes of the Hindu religion to accord – in the course of centuries - a place of secondary importance to a god who, in primordial times, in an imposing solitude, has established the framework of Brahmanism (and at the same time that of the Universe). Under pressure of sectarian cults, he seems to have rapidly forfeited his superior position, the reason, most probably, being his quaint, abstract, ill-defined and, on the whole, inhuman personality which was far less attractive than the dynamic and complex characters of Śiva and Viṣṇu. These sects even accused him of serious transgressions and iniquitous deeds. A long time had passed since he played a honoured role in Buddhist ceremonies. The sanctuaries dedicated to him are few in number[77] and this proves how inferior his official position had become with the centuries. Yet, in the Middle Ages, he was incorporated in a few of the syncretistic groups mentioned above; and, for some reason or other, he remained one of the three component parts of the Trimūrti.

After Brahmā we must mention the goddess Sarasvatī who was sometimes taken to be Brahmā's daughter, or his *śakti*, or sometimes the *śakti* of Viṣṇu. Her iconography was apparently to be found as early as the second century B.C. in Bhārhut. Goddess of knowledge and music – symbolized respectively by a book *(pustaka)* and a musical instrument *(vīṇā)* – she is also referred to as Bhāratī in the Candella inscriptions, which means that she was connected with the *śākta* cults and the cult of Puṣṭi. We should also note the names of Lakṣmī and Kamalā, who were associated with Viṣṇu and likenesses of whom appear on Candella coins.

The goddess Pārvatī, consort of Śiva, is frequently mentioned as, in fact, she is in other northern and central regions of Mediaeval India. She was also a member of syncretistic groups of gods.

Animal cults were particularly favoured and especially that of Nandin, the bull, Śiva's mount

and, sometimes, the god himself in his theriomorphic guise. His statue is to been seen under several *maṇḍapa* at Khajurāho. The elephant-headed god, Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati, had his followers, the Gāṇapatya. More often referred to as Gaṇapati-Vināyaka, 'King of obstacles' (Vighnarāja), he is the son of Śiva and Pārvatī and undoubtedly represents, in concrete form, a whole series of popular beliefs. Finally comes the cult of Hanumān, the ape-god, who played the part of a hero in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and to whom a colossal statue was raised at Khajurāho in A.D. 922.

A particularly important goddess was Maniyā Devī. Of tribal origin, she played the part of guardian deity in the Candella realm. Her sanctuary stands in Mahobā. She can be traced back to legends of the dawn of the dynasty (see supra page 31) and likened to a Śiva's *śakti*. Mention must also be made of the goddess Gaṅgā mounted on her crocodile *(makara)*, and Yamunā on Kūrma the turtle.

Such a variety of deities manifestly indicates that a large number of Brahmanical sects existed side by side, and to them can be added those of the Buddhist and Jain beliefs. In fact Buddha is referred to on several occasions, and is even represented in *bhūmiṣparśamudrā* (touching the earth), as is Tārā. This evidence that Mahāyāna prevailed in Candella country is moreover confirmed by an allusion in the *Prabodhacandrodaya* to the Saugata sect. As in all the other parts of India, Buddhism fell into decline here too. Traces of it have nevertheless been found in Khajurāho, one being a colossal statue of Buddha which bears an inscription ascribed to the IXth century. Buddhist statues, representing, among others, Avalokiteśvara and Siṁhanādā, have been exhumed in the neighbourhood of Mahobā.[78]

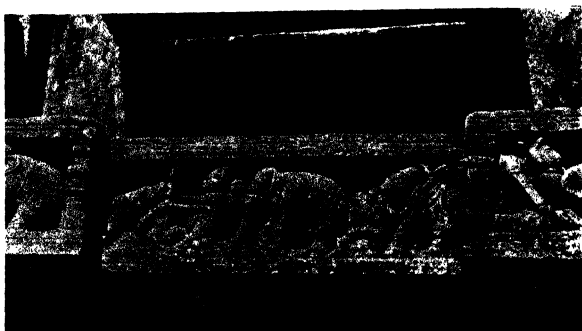
With regard to the Jaina belief, there are many indications that it flourished in the country of the Candella, especially among merchants, and even enjoyed royal patronage at certain times. Vāsavacandra, Dhaṅga's mahārājaguru, was a Jain and it is reasonable to presume that he exercised a certain amount of influence upon the king even though he never attained the rank of minister. That this religion prospered is proved by the existence of a group of Jaina temples in Khajurāho, the largest and most beautiful being the Pārśvanātha temple. As we shall show later on (page 143) Jaina followers seem to have belonged to the Digambara sect. The names of several Jinas appear in the inscriptions: Śāntinātha, Śambhavanātha, Ādinātha, Pārśvanātha, Neminātha, Ṛṣabhadeva, Sumathinātha, Ajitanātha, Supārśvanātha, Candraprabha and so on.

Tolerant of all the 'heretical' religions as well as the various Hindu sects, the Candella kings seem also to have respected all the cults. Thus it came about that high officials were appointed by them regardless of their creed. But, if we believe the fanatic Vaiṣṇava Kṛṣṇa Miśra, these sectaries did not manifest the same consiliatory attitude. Nevertheless, he admits that the moment the Muslim invader threatened the kingdom's existence, a reconciliation almost came about, since, after all, Hindu sects were all based up on the undisputed authenticity of the Veda.

A picture of the religious side of the Candella kingdom would not be complete if we confine ourselves to the above facts only. Indeed one characteristic aspect would escape us entirely and it is fitting that we give the whole picture. This aspect concerns the sectarian attitude to religion which reveals itself in the choice of iconography described above and asserts itself in numerous supplementary details. It was by no means exclusive to Bandelkhand: on the contrary it prevailed throughout India in the Middle Ages. Of the sects, those of Śiva predominated. From early times they had continued to grow in importance. Already, the *Mahābhārata* mentions the Pāñcarātra and Pāśupata systems. The latter system, founded or merely systematised by Lakulīśa[79] and his disciples from about the middle of the second century A.D. onwards, prospered far and wide and images of Lakulīśa were to be found particularly frequently in Central and Northern India during the Middle Ages (they were rare in the South), and certain of the *liṅga* even were representations of his transcendent aspect as a *yogin*. It may be noted, too, that several of these Śiva sects - the Āgamāntin in particular – democratized their system to the point of allowing women of *śūdra* and *pratiloma* status, who normally had no access to the Veda, to take part in the ordinary observances. It is quite likely that this liberal attitude to religion was quite appropriate in Candella society where, as we shall see, the rules of caste were not so rigidly applied as elsewhere. Most Śaiva sects seem to have had a predilection for the cult of the *liṅga* which can be looked upon as a revival of realistic and popular beliefs, and it is well to bear in mind that these phallic representations abounded in the ancient realm of the Candella, especially at Khajurāho where they were often enshrined in the chief sanctuary of the temples.

The sects which sprang from the Pāśupata system were the Kāpālika, the Kālāmukha, the Lakulin, the Yoginī-Kaulin (which claimed descent from the legendary Matsyendranātha, and were the forerunners of the Kānphata and, later, the Vāma-Margin sect. Established, for the most part, from the time of the *Tantra* in the VIIth century and earlier, they were closely linked with the *yoga*[80] and with Tantrist-Buddhist sects, the Siddhācārya, the Bhairava from Indonesia and with several Buddhist and Taoist circles from China and Japan.[81] It seems that some of them played an important part under the Candella. Two recent essays[82] on the subject attach great importance to the influence they exercised in this kingdom and it is indeed possible that many interesting facts, hitherto unexplained, will be made clear when approached from this angle. Since, as we shall see, these facts concern Khajurāho in particular, we feel we should enlarge upon them, to some extent at least. The Kāpālika were established in Mahārāṣṭra as early as the VIIth century and in the VIIIth century their capital was Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, in the ancient Āndhra empire. In the Xth and XIth centuries, the *śākta* cults were very powerful in Kāśmīr and one of their chief towns was Ḍāhala in Kalacuri territory. In the

XIIth century, references were made to the Kāpālika and Kaula in texts belonging to the Caulukya of Aṇahilapāṭaka and the Cāhamāna. Consequently they are mentioned in the Jaina drama *Moharājaparājaya* ascribed to Yaśaḥpāla (A.D. *c.* 1174–1177)[83] which refers to the reign of Caulukya Kumārapāla (*c.* 1144–1173) who lived at the same time as Candella Paramardi. In it, the Kāpālika are described among the sects who practised slaughter. Then again in the reign of Cāhamāna Someśvara (*c.* 1170–1177) who lived at the same time as the two kings already mentioned, the *bhaṭṭāraka* Prabhāsarāśi caused a monastery to be built for the Kāpālika who had come from afar.[84] Moreover the Kaula and the Kāpālika were frequently referred to by writers of that age: Rājaśekhara (Xth century), Ksemendra (XIth century), Kṛṣṇa Miśra (XIth to XIIth centuries), Somadeva (second half of the XIIth century). These facts make it quite clear that the *śākta* cults prospered as much in the courts of kings and princes as in the lower circles of society. It must be further noted that Cāhamāna Someśvara had a Caulukyan mother and was married to a princess of the Kalacuri of Tripurī. These kingdoms, including the kingdom of the Candella, gave their more or less official support to esoteric sects which were considered heretical by the orthodox Brāhmans and disapproved of by the public.

Their ceremonial rites must have offended the Brāhmans deeply. Owing to their secret nature, our information about these sects is, unfortunately, rather limited. We are not even sure whether they were sects in the true sense of the word; their members were perhaps simply associated with an austere order of 'extremist' tendencies, a *yoga* school of a low standard[85]. Our chief sources of information concerning them are the *Akulāgama Tantra* and the *Agamaprāmāṇya* (A.D. *c.* 1050). The descriptions given of them are disparaging enough: they became drunk on alcohol, drinking out of human skulls; they made offerings of burnt human flesh; they ate fish and meat, practised magic and lived with women (*kapāla - vanitā*). To them sexual union was the realization of mystical union. Indeed, their ultimate aim *(kula)* was to attain a condition in which 'the mind and the sight are united, the sense-organs loose their individuality, *śakti* becomes identical with *jīva*, and the sight merges into the object to be visualized'.[86] If the *kula* is the *śakti*, its opposite, *akula*, is Śiva, worshipped preferably in the form of the *liṅga* which possesses in itself the power of attraction, the source both of eternal life and of the universe. Spiritual salvation is attained through sincere devotion to the *liṅga*, expressed by different methods of meditation, by the practice of magic and by performing ritually the sexual act with sacred prostitutes *(veśyākumārī)*. Magic is supposed to have granted the adepts an almost supernatural power through which they were able to overcome disease, to associate with the *yoginī*, to pursue successfully the four ends of life and to enjoy eternal youth or, at least, a very long life. Dr Goetz[87] has established a curious connection between this desire for longevity and the fact that several

LAKSMANA. Scene of hunting

successive Candella kings achieved it. The reigns of Dhaṅga, Gaṇḍa and Vidyādhara coincide precisely with the period when the *śākta* cults seem to have prospered most. Impressed by the longevity of these sovereigns, Dr Goetz supposes that they underwent a simple hormone treatment in the form of an elixir, the preparation of which is shown (or so he believes) on a low relief of the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Khajurāho (plate ci). Whether this treatment was effective or not, whether the kings in question did or not did make use of it, the fact remains that Dhaṅga was one hundred years old when he made up his mind to commit suicide, ritually, by drowning himself at the confluence of the Jāmnā and the Ganges. Numerous testimonies of those days – especially the violent diatribes and the caustic caricatures of writers like Kṣemendra and Kṛṣṇa Miśra – point to the fact that immortality was the ideal of human beings during the Middle Ages.

This ideal went hand in hand with erotic practices which demanded the services of the *veśyākumārī*. We must remember of course that, in ancient India, prostitution was not looked upon as depraved as it is in the West; in fact it fitted into the religious system as a perfectly honourable profession. It was a great honour for women of the lower classes to be initiated into rituals wherein kings, queens, princes and princesses took part. The prostitutes were officially temple dancers *(nartakī)* and were connected with the mystic dance of Śiva and his followers. We may note the honoured place granted to the *mahānācanī* (chief court dancer) Padmāvatī, in the inscriptions of Madanavarman's time. Doubtless this form of prostitution was quite common, for, though it was maintained again and again that it was a custom of a secret and symbolic nature, it had become very widespread. In Kāśmīr, King Harṣa (A.D. c. 1089–c. 1101) received a gift of young females slaves called 'goddesses' and initiated in the *kaula* ritual; he entertained amorous relationship with them, since he too was 'anxious to live for a very long time'.[88]

The Kalacuri were amongst the first to patronize the *śākta* cults. One may assume, even, that it was under their influence that the Candella in their turn adopted them. Ḍāhala was not the only important centre of these cults. But the Kalacuri had also received the Mattamayūra ascetic missionaries with open arms. This sect, which may have hailed from the Kadamba country[89] on the West coast of India, had reached North India via Mālvā. From Ḍāhala it had come, by degrees, as far as Banaras and Prayāga (Allahābād) in the kingdom of the Candella. Under Kalacuri Yuvarāja I (c. 940) one of these Mattamayūra, named Prabhāvaśiva, was treated most kindly by the sovereign and his consort.[90] His son and successor, Lakṣmaṇarāja, continued to patronize this sect, showering gifts on them as did his younger brother Yuvarāja II.[91] It can therefore be presumed that the entire Kalacuri court indulged in the secret sexual practices of the Śaiva cults. Dr. Goetz has suggested that the Kalacuri, enemies of the Candella, operated as a 'fifth-column' bringing a pernicious influence to bear on them by introducing into their midst, like a gangrene, these depraved customs.[92] Whether the Kalacuri played this

dubious role or not, it seems that the Candella were acquainted with the *śākta* cults before the influence of the Kalacuri could have had any hold on them, as the construction of a temple to the sixty-four *yoginī* at Khajurāho, before the beginning of the IXth century, proves. But it cannot be denied that propaganda came from outside the kingdom, through, to a great extent, missionary ascetics who journeyed far and wide in Central India. In the centuries that followed, this propaganda produced its effect. The eroticism glorified by these sects, must have made its mark on life in the kingdom of the Candella, and was officially consecrated by being publicly illustrated in the decorations on the outside of the walls of the most beautiful temples in Khajurāho, the Kaṇḍāriya Mahādeva and the Viśvanātha (of which the image was probably the famous emerald *liṅga)* and where the groups of human figures in sexual union are celebrated the world over for their beauty as well as for their boldness.

Since they believed in the Kaula theory, summarized earlier on, which held that the mystic union of Śiva and his *śakti* was realized when adepts united themselves ritually and sexually with the sacred prostitutes, it was quite logical, as Dr. Goetz[93] suggests, that everyone was free to see the Candella kings appear in the erotic scenes of Khajurāho. These kings were Dhaṅga, Gaṇḍa and Vidyādhara under whom the grip of these cults was at its strongest, and indeed they were the very kings who lived to a ripe old age, an achievement ascribed to a hormone treatment as several authors suppose.[94] But these facts, which are to a great extent based on assumptions, were in reality no more prevalent in the realm of the Candella than elsewhere. Such practices were, it seems, an expression of the mentality of the people of Central India in the Middle Ages, in an age when morals were, on the whole, very lax. They were strongly condemned in Kīrtivarman's reign. Kṛṣṇa Miśra, in his *Prabodhacandrodaya*, describes with asperity and stinging sarcasm the indignation of orthodox believers against the *śākta* cults. His pamphlet can be regarded as a manifesto proclaiming the return to orthodoxy and the restoration of royal power to the Candella dynasty. In order to emphasize the importance of this turn of events, Kīrtivarman, it seems, abandoned the capital of his forefathers and settled in Mahobā, thus breaking away completely from the sinful past. On the other hand it would be wrong to attach too much importance to these practices. They represented little more than an official interest in the stylised eroticism which is typical of the iconography of the period, as much at Khajurāho as at Bhuvaneśvara (Oṛīsā). Besides, it is probably quite incorrect to assume that these practices had spread throughout the kingdom. Again, are we absolutely certain that this eroticism was really put into practice? Or was it perhaps of a more mystic and symbolic nature? We may also suppose, owing to the fact that only a few sovereigns patronized them, that these *śākta* cults prospered for only a short time and that orthodox Brahmanism lost none of its prestige and dignity, as the facts given in the inscriptions suggest.

Aspects of the kingdom and of society under the Candella

In this rough mountainous country where communications were slow and foreign trade negligible, the population was made up of very different groups and types. In the forests and the mountainous regions, peoples, probably un-Aryan, like the Bhilla, the Gond and the Bhar – a tribe to which the ancestors of the reigning dynasty perhaps belonged – inhabited primitive huts. In the villages and the fortified towns (where the roads intersected each other at right angles) local trade flourished; there were rows of shops and stalls, and plenty of market places; the inhabitants moved in and out of them, buying things they needed and luxurious things they did not need. There were many rich merchants and some of them acted as bankers. Many were followers of the Jain creed, which explains their influence at court and the sumptuous foundations at Khajurāho. This part of the kingdom was much less fertile than the coveted region between the Ganges and the Jāmnā, and in accordance with the rules of tradition the Candella kings supervised conscientiously the irrigation of their land and the water supply to the centres of population. Wells, tanks and artificial lakes were built, of various sizes and furnished with steps so that they were easy to access. All sorts of tanks were dug out and constructed by kings, queens and dignitaries. In this way, the farmers were not entirely dependent on rainfall. Life was based on agriculture, and the primitive plough *(hala)* an important implement in the cultivation of the land, is mentioned time and time again. A state of peace in rural life – on which the very existence of the country depended ultimately – was guaranteed by fortresses built at strategic points,[95] and in them a certain proportion of the peasantry undoubtedly sought refuge whenever an invasion threatened. Life inside these forts was probably half military and half civil; they were managed by a governor and supervised by a military inspector, law and order being maintained by the local police force. The kingdom was studded with important towns: Khajurāho, the seat of religion, filled with magnificent temples; Kālañjāra, the fortress, reputed to be the most important in India[96]; Ajaigarh, where one of the king's palaces was built and which was regarded as the civic capital; Mahobā, another vital centre containing one of the national sanctuaries – that of Maniyā Devī – and often the king's chief place of residence.

It was in these urban centres[97] that the royal court settled, drawing to it dignitaries, petitioners and merchants. Around the court revolved those who lived on royal favours, the Brāhmans in the first place, who, without question, exercised the highest authority throughout the land. Well versed in religious science and equipped with a sound education, they supervised the instruction of the young. Besides being the most important government officials, they seem to have been the only ones allowed to make religious donations. Their power and influence seems to have outweighed that of the *kṣatriya* caste which is seldom mentioned in the inscriptions.

There are only two allusions to the *kṣatriya* in the sixty-five inscriptions catalogued to date. This is very surprising in a milieu where military science held a honoured place. Thus the Brāhmans held the most coveted positions; they were at the head of the government, handing down their key-positions from father to son for generations. The leaders of the army and the officers were Brāhmans, and many were able to boast of having acquired appreciable stretches of land for the crown. But the part they played was mostly a religious one, and it was chiefly in this capacity that the rulers protected and favoured them, increasing the number of foundations and donations intended for them and showing themselves to be particularly kind to immigrant Brāhmans. Their special duties are enumerated in Jayavarman's inscription of A.D. 1011: 'study, teaching, offering sacrifices, conducting them for others, giving and accepting gifts'.[98]

Although the absolute superiority of the Brāhman caste was an established fact, a very liberal attitude to caste distinctions seems to have prevailed in the Candella States. While numerous allusions to the sin of even daring to imagine the abolition of the caste system or of criticizing it suggest that severity was necessary to check dangerous tendencies against the orthodox views, yet the respectability of a family *(kula)* seemed to be more important than the fact of its belonging to a specific caste. There are frequent boasts of being a member of a family known for its goodness, graciousness and generosity, without any mention being made of the caste to which it belonged. It appears that there was less discrimination against the lower classes under the Candella than elsewhere, and individuals were referred to only by their professions or the trades they plied. This practice suggests an attitude to human relations far more liberal than was usually found in ancient or even contemporary India. It accounts, too, for the custom of the great families to publish their genealogies and preserve them from oblivion by causing them to be written on stone after the fashion of the royal family itself. This custom points to a certain vanity; but it also reveals a very human aspect of Candella society, a society proud of its past and the important part it played in social and 'national' affairs.

The importance of the family was reflected in royal usages. Succession to the throne was hereditary: should the king die childless – this rarely happened in the Candella line – his brother succeeded him. The members of the royal family took an active part in government affairs, starting with the heir presumptive who often administered the kingdom during the closing years of his father's reign. The other members received titles, offices and sinecures. Government functions were hereditary, thus guaranteeing to the greatest families, in an unbroken line from father to son, the royal favour which these positions implied. This favour sometimes loaded one single individual with benefits in a way that was overwhelming. We can point out several cases where the combination of several high posts was undertaken by one person, making him a busy man to say the least. Under Dhaṅga, Yaśodhara was at the same time *dharmādhikāra* and

purohita, and Yaśaḥpāla *dharmalekhi* and *kāyastha*; under Paramardi, Gadādhara (who belonged to the Gauḍa family) carried the titles *sāndhivigrahika mahāsaciva* and *kavicakravartin*. Under Bhojavarman, Subhaṭa held the functions of *saciva* and *kośādhikārādhipati*.

We can visualize the social organization of the Candella as being headed by an aristocracy, chiefly made up of Brāhmans, which governed the kingdom, rural districts as well as fortified towns. The aristocracy probably pursued a type of feudal existence. The pattern of the population was further complicated by the large variety of religious beliefs to which the esoteric Śaiva sects gave a more or less special character. Orthodox Brāhmans strove to maintain the traditions, and, thanks to their efforts, moral looseness was corrected by a code of honour and a cultural movement to which the temples of Khajurāho bear a most impressive witness. In spite of the fragmentary nature of our information, we can conjure up a picture of an active people, a well-based organization, religious ardour, definite refinement, and a well-developed intellectual and artistic culture.

The person of the king was, as throughout India, the central point of society. Although he did not always enjoy the absolute authority which was his in theory, he was held up as the example and model he most probably often proved to be in the course of the dynasty's history. He watched over the management and welfare of his kingdom, making tours of inspection, supervising the ministers' decisions, extending schemes for town planning – particularly the building of irrigation works –, helping the poor, the disinherited and the families of prisoners or of widows whose husbands had fallen in military campaigns. He showered gifts on the Brāhmans, caused sanctuaries to be built and sacred tanks to be excavated. He was a patron of poets and scholars, encouraged architects, sculptors and painters. He was tolerant of religious faiths other than his own. To his various titles he added that of Universal King which all Indian monarchs aimed to achieve, and he never failed to accomplish the *digvijaya*, a rite of conquest, which conferred on him full territorial power.

The role played by the queen was less official and we know very little about it. However it seems that, in accordance with the rule governing all classes of society, the queen had to belong to the same caste as the king her husband, even if she were a foreigner.[99] The names of a few queens have come down to us: Kañcukā, by birth a royal princess of the Cāhamāna, became the consort of Harṣadeva and proved to be very devoted to him, if we can believe the inscriptions which refer to her.[100] Puppādevī, the wife of Yaśovarman and the mother of Dhaṅga; Bhuvanadevī who married Vijayapāla and witnessed the decline of the empire of the Candella. King Paramardi, as we have seen, married Malandevī who showed herself to be loyal and resourceful in contrast to her husband. Finally we are acquainted with the genealogy of Kalyāṇadevī, consort of Vīravarman, from the Dadhīci-vaṁśa; she is said to have sunk an 'inexhaustable' *(nirjara)* well, a hall and a tank at Nandipura (Ajaigarh).[101]

Polygamy, though not unknown, was not widely practised. We know very little about the position of women under the Candella and it is only occasionally that we catch a glimpse of how they lived. The impression we get is that their contribution to state affairs, though important, met with no official recognition. One from their midst, however, is referred to otherwise than merely as the wife So and So: she was Padmāvatī, *mahānāccanī* and chief of the temple dancers *(devadāsī)* under Madanavarman. Her name came next, on the list of important functionaries, to that of Saṁgrāmasiṁha the *mahāpratihāra*, proving how exalted the post of chief dancer was. Literary accounts reveal a life of entirely traditional type, which followed a stereotyped pattern wherein the wife lived in her palace, entrusting her secrets to her favourite parrots and gazing tenderly on the young fawns frolicking in the park.[102] She wore a vermilion spot between her eyebrows but in widowhood this was removed and her jewelry was laid aside. To protect the married woman was regarded as a sacred duty, and tradition demanded that the mother of a son be treated with the highest respect.

Without exageration we can easily imagine the king and the queen, courtiers, dignitaries and high functionaries living in various royal residences, devoting themselves to works of charity as well as to war, united in times of danger, and probably intriguing the rest of the time, holding sway over a population of farmers and merchants, artizans and miners and of 'savages' even, showing, in all their activities, a comparatively tolerant and liberal attitude. For about five hundred years, this colourful, heterogenous society loved and suffered, in short, lived like any other. But in one respect, the society of the Candella rather than any other deserves our special attention and admiration: for to it the world owes one of the treasures which enrich its heritage – the temple city of Khajurāho.

PLACE OF KHAJURĀHO IN THE ARTISTIC EVOLUTION OF INDIA

The Candella kings and society must have regarded Khajurāho as a holy city. In any case, from early in its history, it played the part of a religious capital and the care taken to beautify it with the most magnificent temples proves the importance attached to it. Of the eighty or so temples which are supposed to have been built there, about twenty still exist and most of these were constructed between A.D. 950 and 1050, that is during the century when the Candella dynasty reached the zenith of its power.

While such a wonderful assemblage of temples is in itself remarkable, a few of them are of such artistic perfection that they fall into the category of masterpieces of Indian art. Yet it is obvious that their creation was not brought about by spontaneous generation: a long tradition led up to their conception and construction to which the skill of the artists of the period contributed exceptional aesthetic and technical qualities. Thus the Khajurāho complex belongs to a tradition and forms only one of the magnificent stages of its evolution. By 950, Indian architecture had long broken with the tentative efforts of the IVth and Vth centuries, from the time, in fact, when builders ventured to pile up heavy building materials and gradually abandoned the ancient system of imitating, in rocky cliffs, the art of the carpenter. For more than a thousand years sculptors had known how to work in stone, and for a very long time monasteries had been built of brick and temples of stone-blocks and bricks. A technique of construction had thus been developed, starting, unobstrusively enough, with the slavish imitation of woodworking and then asserting itself more and more until it came to create imposing structures. Hand in hand with technique, theory, - always so dear to the Indian mentality - was codified in various treatises[103]. The temples were subject to an increasingly rigourous set of rules and three principal types were described as follows: the *nāgara*, the *drāviḍa* and the *vesara*, to which can be added several provincial types such as *vārāṭa* (Berār), *kāliṅga* (Oṛisā) and so on, and others whose names have no connection with geography. Unfortunately, the descriptions are so vague that it is difficult to reconcile them with the examples which have come down to us. Nevertheless, it seems that these terms found their origin in an ancient geographical classification; indeed, it is possible that *drāviḍa* applies to the dravidian region. Generally speaking, the different texts agree in placing the *nāgara* style between the Himālaya and Vindhya mountains[104] and that of *drāviḍa* between the river Kṛṣṇa and cape Comorin. As for the *vesara* type, it must have been located between the Vindhya mountains and the Kṛṣṇa[105]. It seems to be an established fact that the term *nāgara* stands for the temple with the curvilinear roof and the *drāviḍa* for the temple with the pyramidal roof, the *vesara* possibly applying - but this is very doubtful - to the hybrid

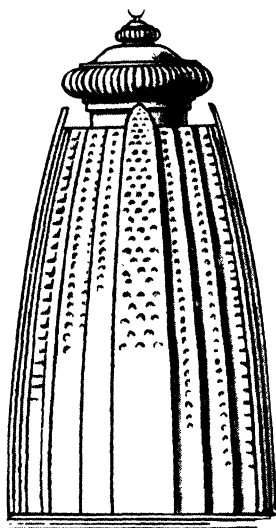



Fig. 1 Ādinātha

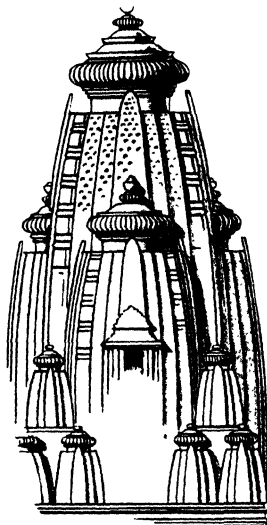



Fig. 2 Viśvanātha

Sketches of their *śikhara*

temples so often described as calukyan. All authorities are in agreement regarding the *drāviḍa* type and no difficulties have arisen concerning it. This is not so, however, when it comes to the *nāgara* and *vesara* types. Even if the majority of writers on the subject think they are able to identify the *nāgara* type in the temple with the curvilinear roof, Mr. Gravely and Mr. Ramachandran are of a different opinion and recognize in it the *vesara* type, applying the term *nāgara* to the temple 'which is square from the basement to the roof-ridge'[106]. Nevertheless, more recent writers do not hold with this theory, and as a result of research done by S. K. Saraswati in particular,[107] it seems to have been settled that the term *nāgara* does refer to the temple with the curvilinear roof.

Though it conforms with ancient literature, this classification is not altogether satisfactory. It tends, in fact, to place each one of these three types within a rather confined area and thus contradicts the facts. A definite example makes it clear immediately. If the *nāgara* type can be identified with the temple with the curvilinear roof, its actual geographical distribution extends

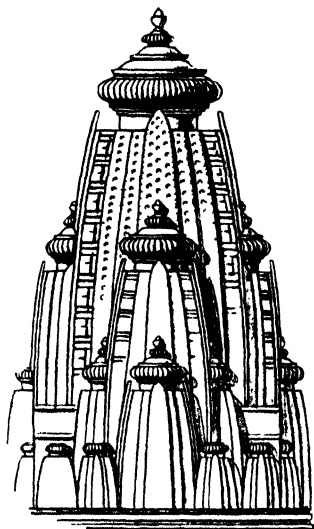



Fig. 3 Pārśvanātha

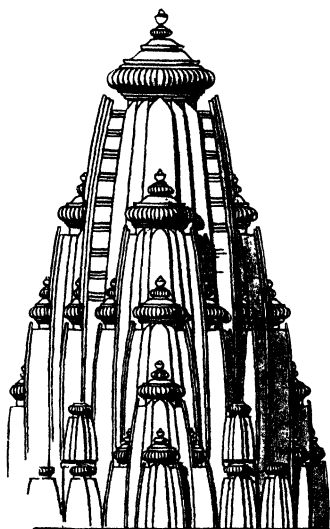



Fig. 4 Kaṇḍārīya Mahādeva

Last stage of development

far beyond the boundaries assigned to it in the texts, that is the area between the Himālaya and the Vindhya mountains, for we also often come across this type in districts close to Madras, that is to say in the middle of the *drāviḍa* region. Conversely the *drāviḍa* type can be seen in Ellora, much farther North therefore than the Kṛṣṇa region. Thus it is preferable to reduce the distinction between the three types to their geographical origin and not to the actual distribution of structures, since there was nothing to prevent dravidian architects from building temples of the *nāgara* type alongside their *drāviḍa* temples and borrowing from the northern repertoire a type which they had not created themselves[108].

It is to the *nāgara* type that most of the temples of Khajurāho belong, thus maintaining the tradition of Northern and Central India. It spread into Kacch, Gujarāt, Kāṭhiāwār, Gwālior, Mālvā, Bengal, Oṛisā and part of the Dekkan. It was in Oṛisā and Bandelkhand that this type reached its most splendid stage of development. It was also adopted in Burmese architecture[109], can be found in Java, in the *caṇḍi* Bhīma, on the Dieṅ plateau, and has influenced, to a certain

degree, some of the temples in a part of indianised Indochina. It is characterized by a curvilinear roof which forms a high tower (*śikhara*) described by the *Purāṇa* as 'curved like the beak of a parrot' (*śukanāsā śikhara*) and also known by the name *rekhā-śikhara*. In the traditional terminology of Orīsā[110] each part of the *rekhā śikhara* has a separate name: the roof itself is called *gaṇḍi* which literally means the trunk of the human body; the summit, called *mastaka*, is made up of several parts: the *beki* or throat and the *khapūrī* or skull of the head. The oral identification of the *śilpin* of Orīsā confirms the symbolic identification of the *śikhara* with the human form in which one ought to see the architectural replica of the cosmic and divine form of the Puruṣa. The same tradition attributes a sex even to the different categories of buildings and finds its echo in the lapidary inscriptions of Burma. When a 'male' temple adjoins a 'female' building, the point at which they meet is called *ganthmāla* which means the symbolic knot which, during the marriage ceremony, unites the vestments of the bridegroom with those of his future wife. If these details emphasise a cosmic symbolism translated into architectural terms, we should see in them no more than a form of the microcosm which the temple in itself is, whether it be the *drāviḍa* type (showing the mountain residence of the god) or the *nāgara* type (the god's receptacle body). Unfortunately there is nothing to explain clearly whether this notion had yet been embraced by the architects of the Candella kingdom; still, note must be made of the fact that they obviously liked to construct 'mountains' as can be seen from the form of the more important temples on the Khajurāho site.

The origin of the temple with the *śikhara* is more obscure than that of the temple with the pyramidal roof, prototypes of which have been found from the Vth and VIth centuries onwards. We might say that the *śikhara* has come down to us from primitive models of a much simpler type[111] such as the Daśāvatāra temple of Deogarh (Lalitpur district) or the brick temple of Bhītargāon, both of which go back to about the VIth century and belong to the closing years of the Gupta period. It seems that the *śikhara* might belong to even earlier times, for reference is made to it in the inscriptions of the Vth century.[112] According to the researches of Mr. S. K. Saraswati[113], the *śikhara* appeared in later Gupta temples as an innovation which contrasted with the flat roofs in fashion up to that time. This was accompanied by the introduction, also new, of a sculptured niche flanked with pilasters and of a portico on one of the fronts, an arrangement which was to be found developed to the extreme in later examples. It can be seen in Bhītargāon and, about a century later, in the Mahādeva temple of Nāchnā Kuṭhārā (Ajaigarh district, VIIth century), the type which most resembles the mediaeval *śikhara*. It should be noted that the temples of Deogarh and Nāchnā Kuṭhārā stand within the boundaries of what was to become the Candella kingdom. Though difficult to see, owing to the bad condition of the roof, a third element appears at Deogarh and its introduction is very important as we come

across it again and again in the mediaeval *śikhara*: it is the called *āmalaka* (the fruit of the Emblica Myrobolan), a crowning ornament in the shape of a ribbed cushion, used also as an element to curve the arris of the tower. This probably developed from the 'Persepolitan' capital in ancient Indian architecture. The brick Laksmaṇa temple at Sirpur, built probably at the same time as the Mahādeva temple of Nāchnā Kuṭhārā or slightly later[114], bears an even greater resemblance to it in its more developed component parts. Here we find, starting from a square plan on a pedestal, the three-part horizontal composition – the plain basement, walls with pilasters, and the roof with its outline curving towards the top – counterbalanced by vertical sections *(paga)* executed on each of the fronts, alleviating any heaviness which might result from the superposition of horizontal lines. This division into sections is already applied here with considerable skill so that a group of pilasters are placed at the corners, and we also find, on either side of the central window, a decoration consisting of small-scale buildings. The roofing tends to relieve the quadrangular form of the main part of the temple, the corners being rounded off by *āmalaka* placed vertically between the cornices of the roof. In the middle of each front, rather tall reproductions of the main building *aṅga-śikhara*, each provided with *caitya*-windows forming a salient.

From this period, the curved-roof type of temple was established and its characteristics will be often met with in the various forms it took, whether under the influence of local factors or under the impulsion of an evolution which was general as well as local. It was the outline of the building which was mostly influenced by this evolution – this tended to become higher and higher and, in Khajurāho particularly, more and more tapering. The tendency of this evolution, too, was to make the original plan more intricate and to adorn the walls with proliferating decoration. Nevertheless, in the increasing complexity of this sacred architecture, it is always possible to pick out the basic structure formed of horizontal lines, cut at right angles by large vertical sections which serve to raise the eye of the viewer to the summit and lessen the static effect of the horizontal layers.

Two principal forms of *śikhara* were elaborated from these elements. One of them and probably the first to appear does not include *aṅga-śikhara*. The roof-structure consists of false tiers *(bhūmi)*, very close to each other so as to give a striped effect to the whole, becoming more and more accentuated as the evolution of the *śikhara* progresses. At the corners vertically superimposed *caitya*-windows alternate with *āmalaka* and the whole constitutes a sort of large 'swelling' which rounds off the corners *(koṇaka-paga)* (plate cliv) and has continued up to modern times even in the most stylized *śikhara*. In the centre of each front, the vertical salient *(rāhāpaga)* stands out more and more clearly; it is decorated at the base with a large *caitya*-window which plays the part of an ornamental pediment and which recalls the dormer-window in later Gupta temples.

The outline of the roof, as it curves inwards towards the top, tends to be rounded out in the shape of a gun-shell. There are numerous examples of this rather simple type. The earliest (VIIth and VIIIth centuries) seem to be those of Aihoḷe (Durgā temple), of Paṭṭadakal (Jambhuliṅga temple) and of Bhuvaneśvara (Sisireśvara temple). In the course of development its characteristics became accentuated and the roof, crowned with a large *āmalaka* surmounted with a vase *(kalaśa)* and a tapering stone *(stūpika)* (plates xxxv, cxlii), becomes higher (Galaganātha temple at Paṭṭadakal, Parāśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara (towards A.D. 750). Temple No. IV at Begunia (Barakar, Burdwān, Bengal), the small brick temple at Kharod (Bilāspur) and others). Then a systematisation takes place and the *caitya*-windows on the cornices, placed more and more evenly and regularly, form a sort of curious network design which is only vaguely connected with the ancient dormer-window motif (Kasiviśvanātha temple at Paṭṭadakal, Mukteśvara at Bhuvaneśvara (towards A.D. 975) the large Śiva temple at Paṭṭadakal, the Sūrya temple at Osiā, the Mahādeva Nīlakaṇṭha at Alwar, the Bajrāmatha at Gyāraspur (Gwālior) and others).

The culminating form of this first type of *śikhara* is well represented at Khajurāho in the Ādinātha, Vāmana and Caturbhuja temples. To the bare, even severe, lines of these temples is added the 'net' or interlacing motif on which the effect of light plays in a subdued way, guiding the eye to the pinnacle of the *śikhara*, an imposing and coherent mass of masonry where the full significance of the ascending vertical sections can be apprehended (plates cxxxi, clvi). It is this type too, simplified and without ornament, which we find in the minor chapels of the *pañcāyatana* complexes (plate lxxv). This same type made way for the heavy, multiple-stepped roofs of the rather remarkable Begunia temples in Bengal.

The second stage of development begins to take shape from about the Xth century onwards. Small-scale 'buildings' called *aṅga-sikhara* or *ūruśṛṅga*, absent until then, make their appearance. Their arrangement and distribution leads to a variety of roof styles, some more slender than others. Three types of *śikhara* belong to this stage which includes a large number of variations on the same form. One of these is illustrated to perfection in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhuvaneśvara (about A.D. 1000). The *aṅga-śikhara* are arranged on the roof from the base to the ridge, between the salients on each front and the cushion ornaments on the quoins. There are other temples which resemble this one, among them the Maitreśvara and the Ananta Vāsudeva temples on the same site (1100?). When we compare these with temples of the VIIth and VIIIth centuries, we can gauge the progress made by Indian architects. The sanctuary of the Liṅgarāja rises to a height of fifty-five meters and under the horizontal grooves of its enormous roof it would be difficult to pick out the cornices of the original false stories, did we not know the different stages which led the architectural development to this ultimate point. We cannot but appreciate the wonderful achievement of builders who knew how to obtain splendid and novel

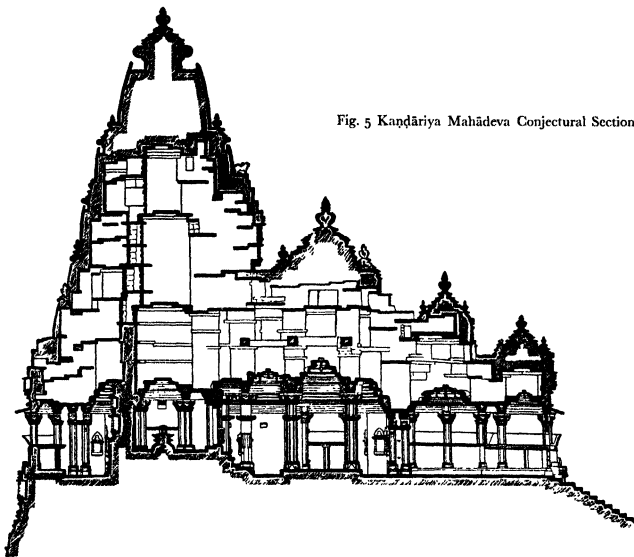



Fig. 5 Kaṇḍāriya Mahādeva Conjectural Section

effects while using ancient formulas But typical as it may be of the Middle Ages, it seems that the Liṅgarāja is none the less one of the most perfect examples of a local type of *śikhara* rarely found, except in a degenerate form in Bengal, a province bordering on Oṛisā.

Another class of *śikhara*, linked with this form and probably belonging to the XIIth century, makes use of the small-scale buildings in a more systematic way, filling, with neatly arranged silhouettes, the spaces between the salients. The curvilinear aspect is much less pronounced here and the cruciform plan of the building can be seen more clearly (temple no. I at Balsāne, temple at Jhodgā, the Jagadambādevī at Kokamthān, the Amṛteśvara at Ratanvāḍi, the Udayeśvara at Udayapur, the Mahādeva at Sākegāon etc.; temples at Ambarnātha, the Goṇḍeśvara at Sinnar, the Amṛteśvara at Siṅghaṇāpura and others). This type of *śikhara*, which often has a provincial look about it, is not be found in Khajurāho, perhaps because it belongs to a later period than the structures on that site.

Finally, a third type, linked again with the same form, was introduced in a masterly way at Khajurāho. It seems to have predominated in the western provinces (Gujarāt, Kāṭhiāwār and

Kacch) and is also to be found in Bhuvaneśvara. The small-scale buildings, their height adapted to suit specific instances, are fixed on the middle band (rāhāpaga) which forms a salient upon each face of the roof. Other *aṅga-śikhara* are placed symmetrically between this salient and the cushion ornaments on the quoins. This admits of a wide range of combinations of which the earliest types are still heavy and somewhat awkward but of which the boldest examples culminate in a magnificent jetting upwards of the incurving lines of the roof. Having made their appearance in about the IXth century(?) and being linked, through their interlaced arrangement of *caitya*-windows, to the early type without *aṅga - śikhara*, these temples developed slowly. At the beginning, they had only a small number of *aṅga - śikhara* fixed on the roof (the Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa temple at Dilmal), but these increased in number and became progressively longer. At first there were two large ones which marked, in part, the central saliment (the temples at Kasara, Sandera and Gorād in Gurjarāt and the Rāja Rāṇi at Bhuvaneśvara). Then more were added: there are three in the Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva temple at Ruhavi (Gujarāt).

Then, finally, come the splendid achievements of Khajurāho (Citragupta, Devī Jagadambā, Caturbhuja, Pārśvanātha, Dulādeo, Viśvanātha, Kaṇḍāriya, Mahādeva) and of the temples connected with them: the Bhadreśvara in Kacch, the Sundara Nārāyaṇa at Nāsik, the Jaina temple of Taringa, of the XIth-XIIth centuries and onward. These have four rather tall *aṅga-śikhara* placed over the top of each salient, while smaller ones decorate the base of the roof. Their arrangement gives a slender but, at the same time, powerful outline to the whole. It is undeniable that this method, more flexible and richer in possibilities, led to the creation of magnificent temples which convey most clearly the notion of a divine mountain of masonry, and it is significant to see the architects of Khajurāho carry it through to its most perfect form. This tendency to make the roof taller and more slender by means of successively set-back steps became more prevalent in later architecture and reached its peak in modern or contemporary temples with the complete stylization of the *aṅga-śikhara* which take the form of huge leaves fixed on the main *śikhara* (temple at Śatruñjaya in Pālitāna, etc.).

Thus the temples of Khajurāho are part of a long chain of development in which they form the most characteristic links. With them the culminating point of architectural beauty is reached, created step by step by the *śilpin* who started off with certain fundamental ideas which, though simple in themselves, attained a massive authority over the centuries. They are an example of the method based, in accordance with the Indian system, on the application of only a small number of architectural formulas which, multiplied indefinitely led to the creation of new styles. It is often easy to go back along the path of their development and discover, step by step, if not the prototype which gave rise to them originally, at least one of the oldest specimens of a particular series. In the case of Khajurāho there is no doubt whatever that the temples

belong to a long series of sanctuaries of which there are many in Central India – at Maribagh, Amar-Kantak, Sohāgpur – which reveal that a local style existed in Bandelkhand and developed side by side with those of other regions. There is no question of spontaneous procreation, which was, in any case, impossible, but rather of a skilful application of traditional ideas. The master builders and sculptors of Khajurāho have given proof of their remarkable creative genius and seem even to have influenced those of neighbouring districts[115].

This creative spirit is revealed not only in the skill with which they gave to their temples an outline at the same time powerful and slender, which immediately impresses the visitor, but also – and this perhaps above all – in the details of the plans of their buildings in their technique of their construction and in their sculptured decoration.

We know that a Hindu temple generally consists of a small cella (where only the priest is allowed to enter), an antechamber where preparations for the rite are made, and a columned pavilion, in the shade of which certain ceremonies are carried out in the presence of the faithful. A pillared hall is often added, in front of the sanctuary and near to the gate of the surrounding wall. Around these main buildings several minor ones of less permanent material are often grouped; they serve as storage places for objects required for the ritual, for food supplies and to accomodate personnel belonging to the temple. But it is not so in Khajurāho. What strikes us first of all is the absence of the enclosure wall which usually surrounds the temple grounds. Secondly, it often happens that the temple is raised on a paved terrace reminiscent of the platform which was already to be found at the Laksmaṇa temple at Sīrpur. Some of these temples are even of the *pañcāyatana* type, that is to say the four chapels are arranged in quincunx around the main sanctuary and on the same platform. Finally, the lay-out of the central building is characteristic: the different edifices, generally separate, one from the other, are here joined, soldered together as it were to form one block with the temple itself. In this way the temples characteristical of Khajurāho consist of the cella *(garbhagṛha)* above which rises the main *śikhara* or *mūlamañjarī*, a vestibule *(antarāla)*, an assembly hall or *mahāmaṇḍapa*, another hall *(maṇḍapa)*, and the entrance *(ardhamaṇḍapa)* with an ornamental archway *(toraṇa)* and a flight of steps leading up to it. Each of these parts is surmounted by a separate roof, those covering the *maṇḍapa* being supported by pillars and often embellished with a richly decorated ceiling. Frequently the plan is in the shape of a Latin cross, the long axis lying from east to west. A processional passage or ambulatory *(pradakṣiṇā-patha)* is sometimes built around the cella – an arrangement often found in mediaeval architecture in Central and Southern India and sometimes, too, in more ancient temples such as in Elephanta and Ellora as well as in the temples with *śikhara* in Burma[116].

The cella has a transept *(mahāmaṇḍala)* on each of the four cardinal sides, lighted by windows

opening on to the balconies. These openings are typical of the mediaeval style in Central India. The interior, however, is sombre and dark and completely in harmony with the architect's idea of constructing an artificial mountain with caves hollowed out in it, like the rock temples of earlier periods[117]. The cruciform plan is the evolutionary end-point of a diamond plan of which the original shape has been modified by the increasing number of salients. From the outside the horizontal division of the whole is clearly visible, but it forms a single unified structure with a rhythm which pervades the whole building: the basement storey *(pābhāga)* divided by rare ornamental niches; the body of the building decorated with rows of statuary and broken here and there by balcony windows, and finally the roofs which are at their highest above the cella and decrease in height towards the portico. According to Mr. S. K. Saraswati[118] these various features are characteristic of the style of Central India and contrast with that of Oṛīsā. They can be summed up as follows: the large number of columns and pillars supporting the ceilings and the protecting roofs, the balconies sheltered by a vast awning, the splitting up of the body of the temple into seven horizontal sections (instead of five) the double *āmalaka* as well as the *ūruśṛṅga* which surmount the *śikhara*, the elaborate decoration of the inside of the buildings as opposed to the usual bareness – all these typical qualities give the temples of Central India a style of their own and the temples of Khajurāho demonstrate its masterly fulfilment.

As much as for their architectural beauty, the temples of Khajurāho are worthy of special notice for their ornamentation and statuary. The most famous examples of the latter are, without doubt, the erotic groups of amorous couples, generally referred to as *mithuna*[119], a motif well known in the *Śilpaśāstra* and which goes back to ancient times in the history of art, that is to say, to at least the Ist century of the Christian era. The motif, already found at Mathurā in the IInd century A.D., was definitely established at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the IIIrd and IVth centuries and appeared regularly from the early stages of the Gupta style (IVth to VIth centuries) and onwards. As Mr. O. C. Gangoly has so wisely remarked, the ornamental *mithuna* motif, which, from the beginning of the Vth or VIth centuries, was found on door-frames, does not really seem to belong to the three main religions of India nor to the different styles of architecture, for it is used indiscriminately in Buddhist, Jaina and Hindu edifices. If the texts referring to them have been correctly interpreted, their chief function seems to have been to ensure prosperity and they appear in the list of auspicious subjects. If then the *śilpin* of Khajurāho had portrayed *mithuna* motifs only, it would have meant that they would have been content to follow the traditional line of the *Śilpaśāstra* and the *Purāṇa*. We have seen (supra p. 63–65) that the deliberately erotic aspect of the groups in Khajurāho was preponderantly due to the Kaula-Kāpālika sects and we are prepared to accept this explanation as conclusive. Mr. O. C. Gangoly, while having some inkling of it, seems to have overlooked this point.[120]

At Khajurāho, as at Bhuvaneśvara and Konārak, the *mithuna* motifs are not arranged singly but are part of an all-over pattern covering the outside of the walls. Because their plastic quality is so outstanding, the figures come to life before our eyes, and though the amorous couples predominate, alternating with them are static and dignified statues of deities furnished with several arms and displaying their respective symbols.

There remains now for us to study the iconography of Khajurāho. It does not appear to contain new elements or inventions and seems to be simply a part of the mediaeval repertoire.

Śiva appears frequently either alone or accompanied by Pārvatī (in the Caturbhuja temple, west front, and in the Vāmana temple, also the west front) or with Brahmā on one side and Viṣṇu on the other (as in the Dulādeo temple). In the lower niche on the West front of the Devī Jagadambā temple he is represented with three faces and eight arms; under the aspect of Viśvanātha, on the lintel of the sanctuary of the Viśvanātha temple and under the androgynous aspect of Ardhanārī in the Caturbhuja temple. A *Caturmukha* in the Brahmā temple and several *liṅga* in various sanctuaries complete the iconography of Śiva in Khajurāho.

Viṣṇu's iconography is more varied. A four-armed figure of this God (Caturbhuja) can be seen, alone in the Javāri, Pārvatī and Devī Jagadambā temples; or with Lakṣmī at his side (Vāmana temple, north front; Caturbhuja temple, north front). His *avatāra* are often represented, sometimes in a syncretic form, sometimes on their own. Thus the central niche on the south front of the Citragupta temple contains a Viṣṇu statue with eleven heads depicting the anthropomorphic god surrounded by this *avatāra*. In the sanctuary of the Lakṣmaṇa temple he has only three heads: that of the man-god, of Narasiṁha and of Varāha. Narasiṁha is also represented in the Vāmana temple, and Varāha, under a benign aspect, in the Varāha temple bearing on his body numerous small figurines of gods and goddesses (plate cxxv). Vāmana appears in the Vāmana temple, and in the same sanctuary we can see Viṣṇu in the guise of his last *avatāra*, Buddha, on the south front.

Several deities remain to be mentioned: Brahmā accompanied by Brahmānī (Vāmana temple, south front) or by Sarasvatī (Caturbhuja temple, southern façade); Sūrya to whom the temple which is now called Citragupta was certainly dedicated; his wild-boar son Revanta, (Lakṣmaṇa temple); Hanumān, whose colossal statue bears an inscription dating from A.D. 922; and finally the Churning of the Milky Ocean, which stands in the Lakṣmaṇa temple.

As for Jaina iconography, practically all the Tīrthaṅkara and saints of this religion are represented and all these effigies are typical of the mediaeval style, somewhat studied but at the same time beautifully and cleverly contrived.

But it is the female figures which, together with the *mithuna* and erotic groups, form the most beautiful works of art in Khajurāho. Marvellously balanced, the silhouettes are tall and slender

showing anatomical forms which are full and supple. The often contorted positions retain a certain degree of surprise and wonder even though they are boldly drawn. Most poetical themes referring to the love-sick coquette are illustrated here: she can be seen arranging her hair (plates xlii, xcv), admiring herself in the mirror (plates xlvii, xc), applying koḥl to her eyelids (plates lviii, clxxiii), colouring the soles of her feet with henna or paint (plates xlix, lvii, lxiii), holding a love letter and a stylus (plate xx), or pressing her hand to her bossom (plates xxix, xxx, xlii). Other female figures hold musical instruments in their hands and play on them (plate lxv). Then there are others who are present in the love scenes but take no part in them; turning away idly, they hide their faces with one of their hands (plate xlvi). Some of these female figures are accompanied by monsters, reminiscent in a way of Beauty and the Beast, such as the leogryphs fixed on both sides of the *surasundarī* on the partition walls of the Pārśvanātha temple (plates clviii, clxix). The jewelry, hair styles and styles of dress of these women are in harmony with the subtleties of amorous symbolism of which the poets made themselves the singers: chignons tied back or richly ornamented, pendent earrings, necklaces, belts, bracelets, armlets and anklets. The eyes are extremely elongated; the thin line of the eyebrows, sometimes in an unbroken line, is, in keeping with literary tradition, curved like a bow (plates xliv, ciii, cv). The nose is often long and pointed, the mouth unsmiling. All these characteristics bring to these faces a strange, even enigmatic, grace as if this divine band were deeply absorbed in itself and lost in a secret dream. The erotic figures and the *mithuna* are naturally more dynamic in their attitudes and a magnificent impetus is expressed in their passionate embraces. The seriousness of their faces (only very rarely do we see a half-smile on their lips) gives them a dignity which debars any suggestion of obscenity.

The friezes which often decorate the platforms and the bases of the temples as the Viśvanātha (plate lxix), the Lakṣmaṇa (plates cx, cxvii), the Dulādeo (plate cxxxvii) and others, must be dealt with separately. Less noble in treatment but more realistic and picturesque, they seem to have been left to artists other than those who executed the large sculptures which cover the upper registers of the walls. Although here, too, we find erotic themes (plate xcix), except, of course, in the Jaina temples, we also come across scenes depicting certain aspects of everyday life in the time of the Candella. If we accept Dr. H. Goetz's interpretation of it, one of these scenes refers to the ritual of eroticism: Dr. Goetz[121] holds that it shows the preparation of a hormone elixir (plate ci). Another scene shows a school-teacher surrounded by his pupils at their lessons (plate cxvi).

But the fighting scenes are the most numerous and remind us that war was the main objective of Candella society (plate cx et seq. and lxxxix). These minor sculptures show great freedom of expression and the movement in them is often intense, an effect achieved by vigourous

diagonals and attitudes which are extremely true to life. The files of elephants and horses remind us, too, that these formed the essential elements of the army of that region and that period, and call to mind contemporary accounts of Khajurāho, describing how the elephant corps came to the aid of the cavalry in putting the enemy to flight[122]. Single combat which took place when the fighting became general was carried out with sword or club and has been depicted in a masterly way on several occasions (plates cxi, cxv). The most beautiful of these is, without doubt, a scene in high relief, of uncertain origin, which decorated the platform of a modern temple (plates cxix, cxx, cxxi). The drawings of the two figures confronting each other in a violent attitude and the skilful composition which makes us feel almost physically the fury of the combatants, make of this scene a real work of art.

Numerous motifs of plant life and geometrical designs complete the decoration of Khajurāho. These cover the balconies, the pillars, the ceilings and the cornices. It is easy to pick out certain features which have come down from ancient times such as the floral ornamentation of the pilasters, pillars, railings and cornices (plates xxxiii, lxxxiii, lxxxix); but their flat, cut-out treatment is, at the same time, characteristic of Khajurāho in that particular age. There are also friezes of, *kīrtimukha*, *vidyādhara*, *gandharva*, and *apsaras* (plates clx, clxix). On the walls of the *śikhara*, above the niches, runs a motif of *caitya*-windows which has changed gradually into a geometrical and purely decorative design; their treatment is similar to that of earlier times, but the hollows are so deeply cut that what meets the eye is a black and white interlacing design with curves suggesting a mass of curls which vibrate in the intense light of Central India (pl. xvi). Other more delicate and less emphatic interlacing designs of *caitya*-windows cover the whole of the *aṅga-śikhara* and the *śikhara*, interrupted only by the ribbed crowns of the *āmalaka* (plate cliv).

The capitals are surmounted by cruciform abacuses decorated with crouching *vidyādhara* (plates xii, xv, xxxix, lv, cxliii) while the porticos are furnished with a very elaborate *makara-toraṇa* (plate lxxx).

The ceilings, like the rest of the building, are covered with carving and are most striking in their beauty. The dark interiors of these temples, however, make it very difficult to see them.

In this general survey we have purposely left aside the temples which do not belong to the true Khajurāho style. These, it seems, are the oldest on the site, the Caunṣaṭ Yoginī temple in particular, and those connected with it, such as the Lālguān Mahādeva temple (plates iv and v) and the Brahmā temple. A study of these will be found below (pp. 87 sq., 94 sq., 135 sq.), where particulars are given concerning the materials used in their construction and certain details of the building technique.

)ESCRIPTIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL TEMPLES OF KHAJURĀHO

I. THE TEMPLES OF THE WEST GROUP

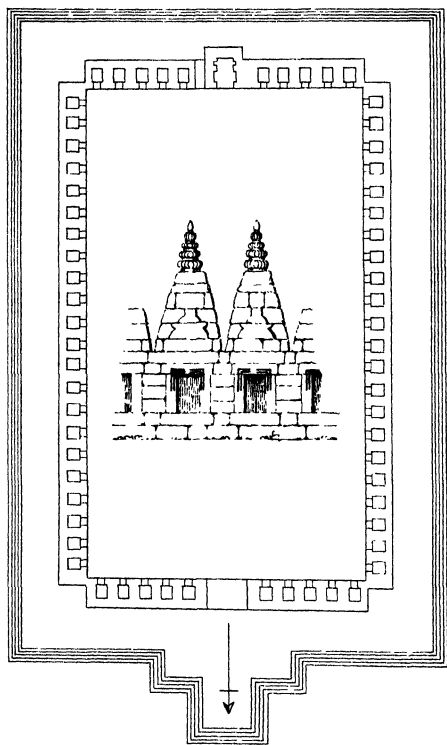



Fig. 6 Plan of the Caunṣaṭ Yoginī temple

CAUNṢAṬ YOGINĪ
OR SIXTY-FOUR FEMALE GOBLINS

Situated south-east of Lake Śibsāgar, its long axis lying from south-west to north-east, this temple has very special characteristics. It has nothing in common with the other sanctuaries which surround it, neither in its architectural conception, nor in the materials used to build it, nor, as far as we can see, in the cult for which it was destined. It was dedicated to the 64 Yoginī who are associated with the cult of Śakti.

Built on a rocky ridge, it rises twenty-five feet above the level plain. Of all the temples of Khajurāho which have come down to us either intact or in shapeless ruins, this is the only one constructed entirely of large granite blocks.

It is a hypaethral temple and the large rectangular open court (102½ ft long, 59½ ft wide)[123] is enclosed by a wall 5½ ft thick, pierced on the inside to form small cells. These cells, sixty-four in number, are 3½ ft high, 2 ft 4½ in. wide, and 3½ ft deep. Each one shelters a statue of a Yoginī. According to Cunningham, the holes in the granite lintels prove that each cell had a double wooden door. The plan (fig. 6) shows what these cells must have looked like, from the outside. This reconstruction is based partly on the shape of the blocks found *in situ* and partly on the remains of *āmalaka* found among the temple ruins. These led us to suppose that the pyramidal roof was crowned with three ribbed *āmalaka* as well as with the *kalaśa* and the *stūpika*, which gave the superstructure the form of a small *śikhara* of the Nāgara type. Thus each cell looked like a separate small temple. Opposite the entrance which is centrally placed in the south-east wall, and in the middle of the south-west wall, is a cell much larger in size than the others (pl. iii) which, according to Cunningham, is equal in breadth to the door opposite it. He also mentioned two passages, two feet wide, which run along either side of the cell. We do not recall having seen the second passage (pl. iii) which may or may not have existed or may have disappeared during probable rebuilts. One thing is certain: this cell was intended for the worship of the principal deity.

Of the sixty-five statues only three have come down to us. The largest is of the eight-armed goddess Mahīśāsura-mardinī killing the buffalo demon: the name is inscribed on the pedestal. The second is that of Māheśvarī whose name is also to be seen on the pedestal, while the third, bereft of an inscription, is Brahmānī the three-headed goddess. These statues are not in their original places and we do not know where they belonged.

As none of the Candella inscriptions refers to this temple, attempts have been made to work out a date based chiefly on stylistic considerations. Specialists on the subject are in agreement that the exclusive use of granite for building, the simplicity of the decoration and above all, as compared

Fig. 8 Plan of the Sun Temple at Mārtaṇḍ

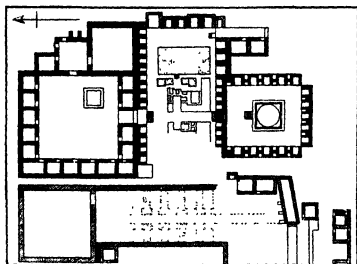
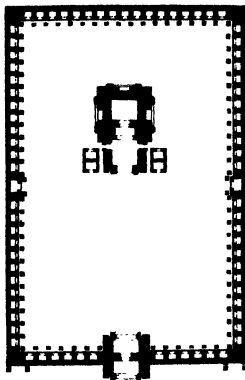



Fig. 7 Takht-i-Bahai. Plan of the whole complex

with other inscriptions on the site, the antiquity of the letters[124] on the pedestals, are good reasons for placing this temple in the early part of the Candella dynasty. Its date, then, lies somewhere between the beginning and the end of the IXth century. It is our opinion that the simplicity of the decoration is no proof of the temple's antiquity and is rather due to the fact that granite is extremely hard and therefore difficult to carve. Long before this time, on various Indian sites, the architectural decoration was very elaborate both in the temples built of stone and those hollowed out of the rocks. Local artists and those from other provinces had a taste for and a tendency towards a richer ornamentation. To what extent the use of granite is proof of antiquity is also a matter for dispute. More reliable evidence lies in the ancient form of the inscriptions which are much older than many others on the site. We take it that granite was used for the simple reason that the architect wished to construct a simple and solid temple. Sandstone, which was plentiful in that region, could have been used as it has been in the construction of buildings throughout India.

The Yoginī are female demons and followers of the goddess Durgā or Kālī, consort of Śiva. Cunningham was certain of the existence of a temple dedicate originally to Śiva, and searched for it in the centre of the court-yard. He based this supposition upon the connection of the Yoginī with Kālī and on the fact that a small altar dedicated to Gaṇeśa stood before the entrance

Fig. 10 Kailāsanātha of Kāñcīpuram: Ground plan

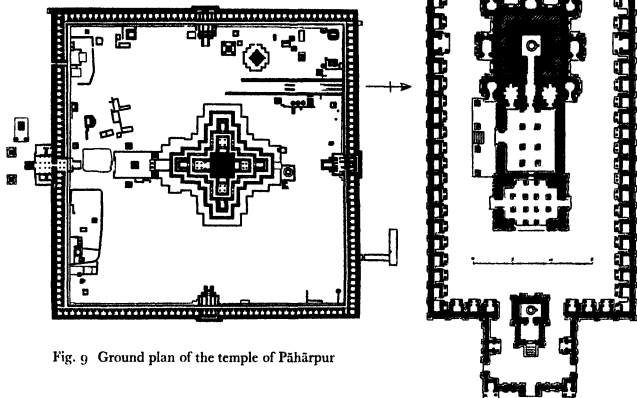



Fig. 9 Ground plan of the temple of Pāhārpur

to the temple. The local tradition of the Brāhmans, who firmly believed that the temple was dedicated to the Yoginī because these guaranteed victory to the dedicator, had failed to convince him. Up to now, even the most recent excavation work has brought no proof of the existence of a temple in the centre of the open court. Several of the temples dedicated to the Yoginī are known to us and they have peculiarities of their own. All of them are hypaethral and most of them are round; enclosing the open court is a wall with a colonnade in the form of a peristyle and on the inside of this wall chapels open on to the colonnade and shelter Yoginī statues. A chief sanctuary is situated more or less in the centre of the court-yard (or sometimes in the centre of the row of chapels), and in it an image of the Śakti under one of her aspects is enthroned.

The Yoginī temples which we may compare with the one in Khajurāho are the following:

1) That of Bherāghāṭ[125] on the river Narbadā, near Jabalpur, which is circular in shape. Surrounding a large open court, a hundred and sixteen feet in diameter, is a colonnade on to which eighty-one small cells dedicated to the sixty-four Yoginī and their cognate forms look out. All these cells are joined by a common wall which runs round the outside. In the centre of the court-yard is a sanctuary where a statue of Umā-Maheśvara was probably housed. Banerji agrees with Cunningham on the date of the oldest part of the temple which is probably the Xth century.

2) At Rāṇipur Jhariāl, in Patna district,[126] is another circular temple with sixty-five cells.

Besides the central sanctuary, a cell, much larger in size than the others, must have sheltered one of the forms of Śakti.

3) The temple of Mitauli[127] near Padhauli is also circular and has a very large court-yard, 120 ft in diameter. Very similar to that at Rāṇipur Jhariāl, it used to have sixty five cells and a central sanctuary. It dates from the XIth century.

4) Dudāhi[128] in the district of Lalitpur is a site which will be discussed below (p. 122). It is connected with the Candella family. The temple of the Yoginī is circular like the others.

5) In the former state of Kālahandī[129] the circular temple of Sūrādā consists of sixty-five cells.

6) The temple of Coimbatore,[130] almost the only one in Southern India, is in very bad condition and it is impossible to specify the exact number of cells. All we know is that it is supposed to have been circular in shape.

This list proves that, except for one or two slight differences, temples to the Yoginī were constructed in much the same way, and this explains why Cunningham insisted on the existence of a central sanctuary. Two other elements attract our attention also. All these temples belong to the same period, that is to the beginning of the Middle Ages and all, except one, are to be found in Central India and Bihār. Considering the strong influence of the Tantric cults (which strove towards supernatural power or *siddhi*) and of the Śākta cults and since we know from Hiuen-Tsang's narrative that numerous Buddhist monasteries stood in Khajurāho, why then should it appear strange to find, in a large religious centre of the period, a temple to the Yoginī? In the period between the VIIIth and Xth centuries when Tantrism developed and spread, contamination from a Buddhist site was inevitable. And if, admitting the authenticity of Hiuen-Tsang's statement, we agree that Buddhism flourished in Khajurāho, it must have been a highly developed Buddhism, at that time and in that region.

Besides the religious problems which this temple poses, there is another which is at least of equal importance. We have noted that all the Yoginī temples mentioned above are circular in shape; only the one at Khajurāho is rectangular. We are of the opinion that its plan, which is regarded as unique of its kind at Khajurāho, was used far and wide throughout the whole of India from about A.D. 700 onwards. In the North of the country the celebrated king and great builder Lalitāditya Mukhāpiḍa (*c.* A.D. 724-760) filled Kāśmīr with similarly planned structures. At Parihāsapura (near Śrīnagar) a whole group of *stūpa* and imposing Buddhist monasteries sprang up, which maintained the Buddhist tradition of that country. But by far the most impressive temple, even in its ruinous state, is the Sun temple at Mārtaṇḍ. The same king, Lalitāditya Mukhāpiḍa, built it in about the middle of the VIIIth century. A very interesting fact, discovered in the course of excavations, is that this temple was built on the site of a more ancient one. Mārtaṇḍ represents on a larger scale what Kak[131] calls the typical Kāsmīri temple

plan: 'it is a rectangular quadrangle pierced with cells facing the court-yard. The temple... usually consists of a single chamber with a portico, and is, as a rule at the point of intersection of the diagonals of the court-yard.... The central cell on each of the three sides is slightly larger than the rest and is somewhat advanced beyond the line of the peristyle.'[132] To this we must add that in Mārtaṇḍ as well as in Avantīswāmī and most of the Kāśmīri temples modelled on that of Martaṇḍ, a peristyle runs along the court-yard side of the rectangle of cells. This peristyle is very similar to that of Bherāghāṭ (see page 89).

Still in the North but now eastwards, in Rājshāhi district (North Bengal), excavations at Pāhārpur have brought to light an unusual temple. In Kāśmīr it was a question of Buddhist or Brahmanical temples, while at Pāhārpur it is possible that the one sanctuary represents two phases. We do not intend to discuss the central sanctuary and its functions, as the problems involved go beyond the limits of this work. Particularly, it would be interesting to compare the lay out of the Tjandi Sewu (Central Java: Krom, *Inleiding* III, pl. 15) to that of our temple; my attention was very kindly drawn to this point by Prof. F. D. K. Bosch to whom I am grateful. But it is the general plan (fig. 9) with its immense rectangle of cells enclosing the main sanctuary, and the approximate date, VIIIth century A.D., which give us such a valuable information.

During much the same period, in the heart of the Pallava kingdom in the South, masterpieces of Indian architecture saw the light of day. Rājasiṁha Pallava, (*c.* 695–722) at the beginning of his reign, caused to be built at Māmallapuram the so-called 'Shore' temple with which the rock-cut method of temple building came to an end. A short time after this, the same king constructed at Kāñcīpuram, the capital of the Pallava kings from ancient times, the very beautiful and famous Kailāsanātha temple, the plan of which is reproduced at fig. 10. Here again, despite the importance of this building in the evolution of Dravidian architecture, it is not the composition and the elevation of the principal sanctuary which holds our attention but rather the peristyle with its range of cells and the independent superstructure.

The relationship between all these plans is striking and their comparison is by no means far-fetched although the differences between them, especially in elevation, are so great. We have explained at length (p. 74–78) how superstructures evolved in India, how styles developed, and how, starting off with the same fundamental idea and pursuing the same theme, artists arrived at diametrically different results depending, in India at least, on the region, and the local and outside influences. What must be remembered is that between the VIIth and XIth centuries, temples similar in plan to the Caunṣaṭ Yoginī existed in all corners of the country and that the one in Khajurāho is far from being an isolated example.

Furthermore this plan met with great success at the beginning of the XIIth century as can be

seen from the Keśava temple at Somanāthapur in Maisōr – to mention only one of the most famous examples. It was greatly favoured by the Jains who constructed according to this plan a large number of the most important temples dedicated to their belief: for example the Nemināthа and the Vastupāla Tejaḥpāla at Girnār in Kāṭhiāwār, both belonging to the XIIIth century, are cloistered by a range of cells, each having a shrine with an image.

The origin of these hypaethral temples with cells which surround an open court is well known. The Buddhist monasteries of Gandhāra with their out-of-doors architecture include more than one example of the square or rectangular court-yard enclosed by a row of monastic cells which faces it. This plan was used in Gandhāra for the living quarters of the monks as well as for the *stūpa*. In the latter, the *stūpa* stood in the middle of a court-yard and the surrounding cells were chapels sheltering images. The *saṅghārāma* of Takht-i-Bahai, clinging like an eagle's nest to a rocky promontory above the plain of Peshāwar, is in a good enough state of preservation for us to be able to discern the plan of the oldest period. On Foucher's plan (fig. 7) the black parts show this ancient period (about the Ist century A.D.). There are two court-yards built on exactly the same lines, the only difference being the size of their respective cells. We have been able to observe on the site how far Foucher was correct when he wrote 'that the smallness of these *vihāra* made them fit for habitation by statues alone'. And despite the centuries which separate them the cells of the Caunṣaṭ (plates i, ii) bear a strong resemblance to the small *vihāra* of Takht-i-Bahai.[133] Still in Gandhāra, at Jamāl-Garhī, the surrounding court-yard with its cells is circular, while that of the Jauliāñ at Taxila is rectangular. To enumerate buildings of this type in Gandhāra would take time and add very little to what we already know. We believe that the all-important factor and one which brought into existence the hypaethral temple was not, as has so often been held, the Buddhist monastery as a whole, but rather the principle of a sacred monument, the *stūpa* of the Buddhists, encircled by small chapels housing sacred images. It was this architectural lay-out and this form of worship which, as we have seen, were adapted in Kāśmīr (p. 90–91). There is every reason to believe that the *stūpa* was in existence long before the monastery; the vast number of isolated *stūpa* which show no signs of having belonged to monastic complexes amply testifies to this.

The secluded valley of Kāśmīr together with Gandhāra, formed part of the Buddhist kingdom of the Kuṣāṇa. We believe that this plan spread through Kāśmīr, for it was there that it, and the idea behind it, were adapted to suit the needs of another religion and thus the first Brahmanical temples with surrounding cells came to be built.

The historian Kalhaṇa in his Rājataraṅgiṇī, the River of Kings, written in 1148–49, bears witness to the fact that Buddhist sanctuaries existed in Kāśmīr in the time of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty: '... the continued existence of the three places Kaniṣkapura, Huṣkapura and Juskapura which

are described as foundations of these kings and which still survive to the *present day* is likely to have assisted in preserving a recollection of their founders.'[134].

The supposition that one and the same plan and one and the same formula could have been used, side by side, to represent forms of worship which outwardly seemed very different, is not surprising in a land like India which has known religious syncretism on a large scale. In Kāśmīr a famous Buddhist king built Brahmanical temples, in Khajurāho a fervent Saiva monarch gave his protection to the Jaina religion.

LĀLGUĀN MAHĀDEVA

In none of his descriptions of his various visits does Cunningham refer to this small, rather isolated temple. In the official guide to the site which appeared later, it is described as standing about 600 yards west of the Caunṣaṭ Yoginī. It is a very roundabout way, however, which leads to it: as the map shows, from a starting point between the Devī Jagadambā and the Citragupta, a path leads through the undergrowth which now covers the site and comes out on to a wide stretch of cultivated land which was once Lālguān Sāgar lake on the embankment of which the Lālguān Mahādeva is situated.

The plan of this temple is among the simplest on the site: it consists of a cella and a *maṇḍapa*. Only two of the pillars which supported the latter still stand. Nevertheless, we should not allow its ruined and neglected appearance to lead us to hasty conclusions. Its fundamental characteristics and architectural details connect it with the other buildings on the site. The two materials used in its construction were granite and sandstone, and from this it was unanimously inferred that the edifice was of great antiquity: it was traced back to the IXth century. The fact that these materials were used to build the Brahmā temple on the banks of the Khajur Sāgar in *c.* A.D. 950-1000, and that all the interior pillars of other temples such as the Ghanṭai are of granite, make it difficult to accept this view.

A statue of Nandin in front of the temple proves that it was dedicated to Śiva; both the temple and the Nandin stand on a raised terrace of large granite blocks. Although the temple is now in an advanced state of decay, the size of the platform seems to have been much too large for it and the statue of Nandin alone. Another peculiarity is that it faces almost directly west. The possibility exists that what stands now is only a part of a group *pañcāyatana*, as we shall see later, an example of which has been preserved in the Viśvanātha, with the associated Nandin temple.

The unusually high plinth *pābhāga* or *pāda-bhāga* which has no other decoration than protruding mouldings, reaches almost to the cornice from which the superstructure rises. The first stages of the plinth are surmounted by a reverse *cyma recta* and a second one, which succeeds this, juts out prominently and is encircled by a broad string-course. (In pl. v the sunken fillets are hidden by shadow). The next two stages, which are concave and of different heights, are smooth and counter-sunk. Then come a torus, and another, boldly projecting, reverse *cyma recta*, the recesses of which are relieved by plain mouldings. This is followed by the only wide and flat portion *(jaṅghā)* made of two courses of masonry also counter-sunk and surmounted by a string-course which turns at right angles to form a border. This brings us to the part of the building which, by its architecture and decoration, permits us to connect it without hesitation with

other buildings or sanctuaries on the site: the roof. This is pyramidal in shape and rises in a succession of receding tiers *(pīḍha)* which are reduced to no more than a series of cornices. Naturally, in the course of deterioration, the first parts to disappear were the topmost ones, *āmalaka, kalaśa, stūpika*. A counter-sunk fillet under each cornice preserves a denticulate decoration, and a number of openings which resemble *caitya*-type windows are all that remain of the cornice decoration.

In pl. iv, the very shallow pilasters, which do not, however, give the impression of being unfinished, the large and wholly undecorated corbels, as well as the very simple doorway, provide better arguments for the possible antiquity of Lālguān Mahādeva than the use of granite and sandstone as building materials.

The only decoration on this façade is a diamond-like ornament set in a rectangle which is carved in the centre of the great block forming the threshold. It is identical with those motifs which, in hundreds, ornate in decorative bands the flat mouldings on the buildings of Khajurāho.

A most impressive Nandin, on a high plinth, is set facing the entrance. If, as is thought, the pillars on both sides of the entrance door, were supposed to support a *maṇḍapa*, the Nandin must almost have risen above it. We must envisage, therefore, a change in the original plan, which cannot be detected in the surviving remains.

KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA

There is no doubt whatever that the Kaṇḍāriya Mahādeva is the largest and most beautiful temple on the site. It is the culminating point of a long process of experiments of the *śilpin*, and this, of course, makes it even more interesting. Its unsurpassed architectural achievement is due probably to favourable circumstances of place, time and age, and the genius of artists endowed with great gifts of imagination, at the height of their mastership. For these reasons and because of its excellent state of preservation which makes it easy to analyse, the Kaṇḍāriya Mahādeva has become one of the most widely known and described edifices at Khajurāho. Not a single book or article on the architecture or the sculpture of what we are accustomed to call Mediaeval India, omits to draw the reader's attention to the majesty, architectural unity, and the symmetrical proportions of the Kaṇḍāriya or to praise its upwards thrust which symbolizes and reveals in a masterly way the skill of the genius who built it.

On this account we have decided to produce here only those photographical documents which concern the particulars of the temple; the *pañcāyatana*, or fiveshrined complex, is studied with the Lakṣmaṇa temple which, though smaller, has kept its subsidiary sanctuaries and equals the Kaṇḍāriya in beauty and interest. We shall, therefore, mention here only those elements characteristic of the Kaṇḍāriya or those which have been differently treated.

The temple faces east and belongs to the *sāndhāra prāsāda* class, of which one characteristic is the *pradakṣiṇā-patha*, circumambulatory passage, carried round the outside of the cella. Its size is very imposing, 102 ft 3 in. long by 66 ft 10 in. at its widest part. The highest point of the pinacle stands 101 ft 9 in. above the platform. It is dedicated to Śiva, represented in the sanctuary by his symbol the *liṅga*. This *liṅga*, probably the original one, is of marble and measures 4 ft in circumference. As usual, in the center of the the lintel, over the door leading into the sanctuary, Śiva can be seen between Brahmā and Viṣṇu.

The plan of the temple, like those of the Lakṣmaṇa and the Viśvanātha, was the outcome of long experiments on the part of the *śilpin*. It was probably executed by local architects who, in all matters of ritual requirements, worked in close harmony with the Brāhmans. A simple Latin cross facing east was the plan usually adopted for the large Khajurāho temples, though there are a number of variant forms. The double cross is clearly apparent in the Kaṇḍāriya Mahādeva, the Lakṣmaṇa and the Viśvanātha. This lay-out is the result of centuries of development, and of the appearance of the *pradakṣiṇā-patha* round the *garbhagṛha* and the *antarāla*. From the time when the cella was surrounded by a circumambulatory, the light, which had formerly entered by the two openings, proved insufficient, and so three additional ones were created which transformed the obscurity into a half-light.

The length and breadth of the temple made possible the full development of the five component parts: the *ardhamaṇḍapa* or porch, the *maṇḍapa* which is virtually an integral part of it, the *mahāmaṇḍapa* or great entrance hall to the main shrine, the *antarāla* or antechamber, and the *garbhagṛha* which is the cella. The separate existence of these parts which, though they form an architectural whole, have separate functions to fulfil, is accentuated by the different superstructures. These are distinct and each roof has a different form.

The great artistic achievement of this style, especially in the Kaṇḍāriya, lies in the architectural unity and the sense of balance which it reveals. The component parts, listed above, are coordinated and combined into a single whole. From the outside this effect has been achieved by means of horizontal lines – friezes and mouldings – which continue right round the building. The high plinth *(pāda-bhāga* or *pābhāga)*, the section of the wall *(jaṅghā)* decorated with three rows of sculptures, the mouldings *(baraṇḍa)* which mark the dividing line between the cube *(bāḍa)* enclosing the cella and the main part of the tower *(gaṇḍi)* are really horizontal structures which weld the different parts together. The master-stroke lies in the innovation of balconied openings. They are not only functionally important but they also serve, most successfully, an aesthetic end. They establish a balance between the solids and the voids, and lighten the high mass of the structure by the play of light and shade created by their overhanging roofs *(cajjā)*.

At page 74 and seq. we pointed out how the *śikhara* is the crowning achievement of a long evolution and without repeating what was said then, we would draw attention to one point which cannot be explained without the help of plans and sketches. It is the harmonious ascent of the superstructures arranged in gradations, which carries the eye heavenwards from the crowning of the porch to the finial on the *śikhara*.

Plate vii, which shows the superstructures of the Kaṇḍāriya and the Devi Jagadambā rising above the trees will convince the reader of the artistic achievement of the Kaṇḍāriya and the lack of it in the Devi Jagadambā. What we claim as an achievement in the case of the Kaṇḍāriya is due solely to its well-proportioned bulk and the way the individual coverings on the different parts are treated. Apart from the *śikhara* and the *antarāla*, with its usual gable roof, in the case of the *maṇḍapa* two methods have been applied to their roofing. One of these was probably derived from the Kadamba of Oṛisā, a perfect example of which, on our site, is the Nandin temple (pl. lxxiv). The other method is a variant of the pyramidal roof, embellished with forms derived from miniature buildings and, less severe than the bare receding tiers of the Kadamba, lends itself better to combinations of more rounded forms. An excellent example of this treatment at Khajurāho is to be found in the *mahāmaṇḍapa* superstructure of the Vāmana (pl. cxxxi) and of the Viśvanātha. This formula has been applied to all the three *maṇḍapa* of the Kaṇḍāriya and is a mark of his great architectural elaboration. It is not to be found in any of the other large tem-

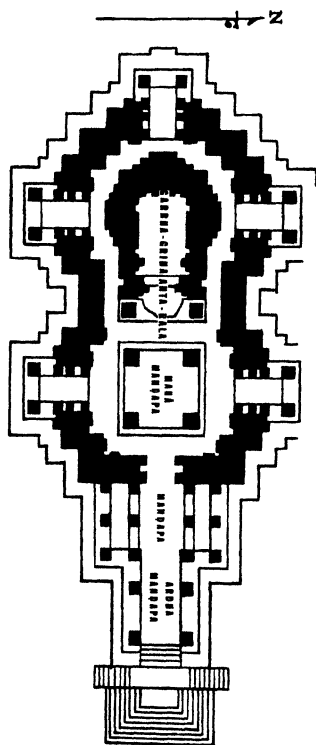



Fig. 11 Plan of the Kaṇḍāriya Mahādeva

ples. The superstructure of the *antarāla* is of particularly graceful sweep and effects a satisfactory transition between the *mahāmaṇḍapa* covering and the *śikhara*. (Of the smaller temples the Javāri is the only one which contains nearly all the architectural features found in the Kaṇḍāriya).

The Kaṇḍāriya is a *saptaratha*, the *ratha* or *rathaka* being the vertical sections formed by the projections in the middle of each face; the temples are classified according to the number of *ratha*, which are really so many vertical lines, they have. For the *ratha* continue as *paga* which carry them on along the *gaṇḍi* and end only at the *beki*, a sort of dip, immediately beneath the large flattened spheroid, ribbed at the edges, which is the *āmalaka-śila*.

In the Kaṇḍāriya only one carved string-course *(bāndhanā)*, in very high relief, separates the belts of sculptures. It is decorated exclusively with *kīrtimukha* or volutes (pl. xxv). The passage from this part of the building to the tower, or rather to its base, is made by three recessed friezes and two bare string-courses referred to, as a whole, as *baraṇḍa* (pl. xxvii).

It may be useful to devote a few words to explaining the perfected technique of which the architects have given evidence. The bulk of the *śikhara* is naturally wider at the base; the higher it goes the narrower it gets and its lines become more concentrated towards the summit. The form, number and distribution of the *aṅga-śikhara* constitute one of the foremost architectural problems in this style of building which has not always been solved in the same way. Figures 1, 2, 3, 4 illustrate certain solutions, but the Kaṇḍāriya is by far the most satisfactory example. It is not enough to study the sketches; plate xvi is more convincing. There is a rhythm of harmoniously curved lines arising upwards to the summit; their deep-cut ornamentation relieves the flat surface and succeeds, with the play of the light, in relieving the impression of massiveness. The carving on these lines is so soft and delicate that the jutting edges are by no means aggressive or startling to the eye. All the *aṅga-śikhara* are crowned, like the main *śikhara*, with two ribbed *āmalaka-śila* – a type of finial which is characteristic of the site.

The entrance into the temple is up an imposing flight of steps. The porch door is decorated with a *makara-toraṇa* with five looped arches *(pañcapattra-toraṇa)* which we come accross again in a slightly different form at the entrance into the cell. The *makara-toraṇa* of the porch with its foliated form of strut is so finely chiselled that it looks more like carved ivory than stone. In each one of the cusped archways exquisitely carved and lively *mithuna* are sheltered. Hanging in mid-air and bathed in light, they give the impression that they are really flying through the air.

The inside of the temple is just as impressive as the outside and this is due as much to the variety, as to the large number of sculptural and decorative designs. Cunningham counted 646 statues on the outside and 226 on the inside, each one from 2½ to 3 ft in height. It is difficult to imagine, without actually visiting the temple, the profusion of figures placed wherever there

is room for them. Even on the eight brackets of the four *mahāmaṇḍapa* columns there are ravishing silhouettes of *śālabañjikā* with figures of lions, rampant, between them.

The ceilings of the three *maṇḍapa* are of an extraordinary beauty and variety. That of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*, supported in the centre by four pillars, is in the form of a large circle surrounded by eight small circles, richly indented, and pierced with deep-cut carving. A pendentive must originally have marked the centre of each one, but all nine of these have disappeared. In contrast to this the ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* is made up of four squares placed diagonally, very redented and enclosed within a similar square. Each of the small squares has retained its pendentive and it was this which led us to suppose that these must have decorated the circles the *mahāmaṇḍapa* ceiling too.

The architectural structure of these ceilings is everywhere the same at Khajurāho; they are made up of oversailing courses of masonry a method which has, of course, only limited possibilities. In the Kaṇḍāriya, the square plan of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* (as in most of the temples) changes into an octagon which in turn gives way to concentric circles. But as the surface was very extensive and in order to counteract the risk of collapse, four pillars, standing in the centre, support a framework of architraves and it is inside this that the circle, of which we have just described the decoration, is inscribed. All these surfaces, square, octagonal, or circular in shape are blended together and made uniform by the decoration covering them. This abundance of ornamentation is not the outcome purely and simply of a 'horror vacui' which characterizes Indian art especially from a certain period on; it has an aim and a 'raison d'être', namely to create a harmonious unity and to effect a transition between one form and another, and thus to avoid offending the eye. A comparison between the interiors of the temples of Khajurāho and those of Oṛīsā is sufficient proof of this; the bare walls of the latter are surely less pleasing and attractive to contemplate.

To attempt to give a detailed list of the decorative and iconographic subjects adorning the walls of the Kaṇḍārīya on the outside as well as on the inside would require a separate treatise. We would however draw attention to one indisputable fact. Despite the frequent use of the same ornamental theme there is no suggestion whatever of boring monotony or mechanical repetition. An abundance of carving, yes, but in it there is an intrinsic harmony, rhythm and unity. And here lies the secret of the greatness of the Kaṇḍāriya: so much care has been devoted to creating a feeling of harmony in this edifice that the architect has succeeded in bringing to the faithful who entered the temple a sensation of soaring heavenwards. He attained this by a clever though simple device. Whenever the worshipper proceeds from one *maṇḍapa* into another, the floor rises by one step and the image on its pedestal is on a much higher level than the floor of the *garbhagṛha* itself.

MAHĀDEVA

For about a century, authorities on the subject have been of the opinion that this *maṇḍapa* (pl. xxxiii) must have belonged to a lost temple. The representation of the Mahādeva or Śiva whose figure is carved between Brahmā and Visṇu on the centre of the door lintel, proves that it must have been dedicated to this deity. In addition, what remained of this edifice underwent numerous changes at the hands of the Rājas of Chatarpur [185] in the XIXth century. These restorations, though they served to strengthen the ruined remains, had the grave disadvantage of making it impossible for us to identify the original plan. Was this the *ardhamaṇḍapa* of the temple? Was it built according to the plan usually found in Khajurāho? Or was it simply an altar with a portico? These are questions which have arisen since Cunningham wrote his report and even a cursory inspection of the only photograph given here (pl. xxxiii) will make them apparent.

This little building also faces east and stands on the same large *adhiṣṭhāna* as the Kaṇḍāriya and the Devī Jagadambā which are on either side of it. The *pābhāga*, small and low, possesses the same type of prominent mouldings as have just been described at page 94. It seems to have suffered less damage and is delicately ornamented. The spiral design of the lower string-course suggests the use of the engraver's tool rather than the sculptor's chisel. On this lower string-course, we can see a projection 'like a double rimmed pedestal' which must have been surmounted by a niche containing a statue and which reached to the top of the plinth (this portion is thrown into clear relief on plate xxxiii), and therefore does not call for the continuation of the decoration on the mouldings. It suggests a niche partly because of its rectangular shape resting high on a pedestal, partly, also, because we must bear in mind that the artists of Khajurāho used this architectural structure to intersect the long horizontal lines and thus to avoid monotony or heaviness of form.

Two elaborately ornamented pillars and two columns of a more simple style rest on the base and support the roof.

The portal and the pillars which flank it are richly decorated in a style characteristic of the period and of the site. The wall adjoining to the pillar belongs, without doubt, to the XIXth century restorations, from the shape of its false window and multifoil arch which can be seen on the left in pl. xxxiii. Most of the superstructure seems to be an alteration dating from the restoration work. The original protecting roof has been strengthened by a large monolithic architrave, running from the capital of the pillar to that of the column, and embodied in the more recent superstructure.

One of the most powerful and striking sculptural works in the Khajurāho complex is now housed in the *maṇḍapa*. It is a very famous group and, as it has been reproduced and described many times, we shall not discuss its artistic qualities here. It consists of a lion before which a woman is kneeling. The animal is treated in the lavishly ornamental style typical of the Middle Ages and especially of Khajurāho: pearl-studded collar, bead-work on the paws, little designs around the name etc. What we would add about this group is based purely on personal supposition. As this huge platform which supports these three buildings possesses two other groups very similar to it, we wonder whether this one originally belonged to the *maṇḍapa*. And again, if the *maṇḍapa* was an entrance or anterior porch placed in front of the door leading into the sanctuary, it seems strange that such a colossal construction should obstruct the way, even if it was of symbolical significance as Prof. O. C. Gangoly[136] supposes. We believe therefore that this group must have been sheltered there for some reason or other at the time of the XIXth century restorations – perhaps simply to preserve it, since it was by far the most beautiful. Consequently it did not belong to the *maṇḍapa* which, by reason of the use to which it was put, had to be empty.

DEVĪ JAGADAMBĀ

The high and extensive *adhiṣṭhāna* on which, as we have seen, the Kaṇḍāriya is built, serves also as a platform for the Devī Jagadambā which is situated to the north of the Mahādeva.

The name Devī Jagadambā or Kālī, later given to the temple, was taken from the image found in the cella. This statue represents the river goddess Gaṅgā on her *vāhana*, the *makara*. As a result, probably, of confusion with another goddess, this statue was painted black and worshipped as the goddess Kālī. Recent iconographical research has led to other conclusions. Nowadays we know that the deity to whom a temple is dedicated, besides being represented in the cella, is also always depicted in the centre of the lintel above the door to the sanctuary. In this case the deity in question is Viṣṇu, and Gaṅgā or Kālī, as some scholars identified this image,[137] must have been installed in the cella after the disappearance of the statue of Viṣṇu.

The Devī Jagadambā, smaller in size than the Kaṇḍāriya, is about 73 ft 3 in. long, 42 ft 1 in. wide. The plan (fig. 12) shows a single instead of a double cross. The chief point of difference between it and the Kaṇḍāriya is the absence of the *pradakṣiṇā-patha* and, as a result of this, the absence of the three openings with balconies on the main part of the *śikhara*. The edifice is therefore a *nirandhāra prāsāda*, a kind of shrine without *pradakṣiṇā-patha*. This plan is typical of several of the Khajurāho temples, which exhibit no more than minor differences and have very similar dimensions.

This edifice is made up of four parts instead of five: the *garbhagṛha*, the *antarāla*, the *mahāmaṇḍapa* and a long porch. The latter may also be regarded as a *maṇḍapa* or *ardhamaṇḍapa*. Whatever it may be, the important point is that the fifth part of the structure has disappareed. Certain details seem to suggest that the Devī Jagadambā was originally a *pañcāyatana*.

Comparing it with the plans of the Kaṇḍāriya and the Laksmaṇa, we would draw attention (fig. 11 and 15) to the following detail: the balconies of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* are of bigger size than usually in the other temples, and the overhanging roofs are supported by five columns in number, instead of four. The span between the exterior columns being too wide it was necessary to add a third one. Most probably too, the fact that this temple was of a considerable size and that it had only three openings (including the door) instead of six, made it essential to increase their width. It should be emphasized that only two of the *nirandhāra prāsāda* have this peculiarity, and they are the two largest. The same plan (fig. 12) also shows the design and location of the semi-circular door steps *(candraśilā)* in front of the altar. They are identical with those described on page 113. Without dwelling too long on them here, we would simply point out that they are to be found in front of the doors leading into all the cellas as well as in front of the outside entrance to the buildings.

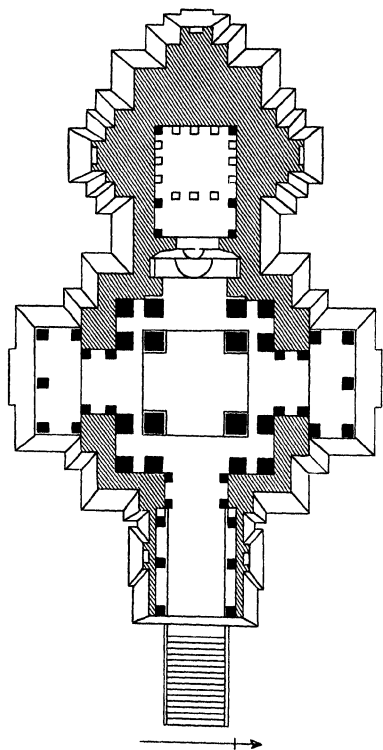



Fig. 12 Devī Jagadambā temple: ground plan

The *pāda-bhāga*, on the terrace, is lower than that of the Kaṇḍāriya Mahādeva, perhaps because of the greater dimensions of the latter. But the architectural sculpture and the decoration of the whole building show the same sumptuousness, the same perfection, and it could be said that they derive from the same style. All the experiments which the architects brought about at Khajurāho can be seen here, realised by skilled craftsmanship and an experienced eye. Briefly, these are to be found in the small niches, in the large niches located on the main central projections of each side of the *śikhara* (the *ratha)*, in the three rows of sculptures, each one set on its own socle and housed under a canopy, etc. The last row of sculptures is surmounted by the *baraṇḍa*, consisting of three superimposed courses of a canopy-like moulding which separate in a purely architectural manner the body of the building *(bāḍa)* from the superstructure, the *gaṇḍi*. Above this band which forms the base of the *śikhara* there is a belt of small *aṅga-śikhara* which is cut by the vertical lines of three more elongated ones springing out from above the large niches. Behind these is yet another *aṅga-śikhara* which runs all along the *rāhā paga* and reaches to the midpoint of the *śikhara*. Despite this device, however, the *śikhara* is somewhat dumpy, and the whole of the structure a little heavy. This is due, in part, to the superstructures of the different elements of the building which are less elongated and give the impression of having been treated separately from the *śikhara*. Plate xxxv shows clearly that the roof of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* is less elevated and quite separate from the *śikhara*. It is treated as though it was the superstructure of an architectural element which did not belong to the rest of the building. Further, this sense of heaviness is increased by the superstructure of the balcony as can also be seen on the back-ground of pl. xxxv. A comparison with pl. cxxxii emphasises the difference in treatment between this balcony roof and those of the other temples which are formed by means of a diminishing series of small structures, roofed niches, miniature *ūruśṛṅga*, etc.

Among the remarkable achievements of the sculptors of this temple should be noted the ceilings of the porch of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*, as well as a statue of Śiva with three heads and eight arms. This is housed in the central niche of the lowest row of sculpture on the west façade. The central niche of the middle row, south façade, houses a Viṣṇu in the Varāha *avatāra*.

CITRAGUPTA

For once we have a temple which presents no doubts whatever. The Citragupta or Bharatji is dedicated to the Sun-god Sūrya and has always been referred to as this god's shrine; this is not especially surprising as not only do the inscriptions prove[138] that the Candella worshipped Sūrya, but, in addition, he is represented on more than one occasion on the outside of the temples as well as on the door lintels.

In the cella of the Citragupta stands a image of the god, about 5 ft high, wearing high boots and driving his seven-horse chariot. It is possible that in Cunningham's time the statue was in better condition since he describes[139] the god as holding lotus flowers in his hands. At present the right arm is broken off at the elbow and the left hand is also missing[140]. The door to the cella is decorated with elaborate ornamentation: in the centre of the lintel an enormous niche, reaching from top to bottom, shelters yet another Sūrya figure identical with the one in the cella.

The lay-out of the temple on the *adhiṣṭhāna*, its plan and its entire structure all resemble greatly the Devī Jagadambā, to the north of which it is situated. It seems to be slightly larger in size. Like it, the Citragupta is a *nirandhāra prāsāda* and has the same component parts. There is also a portico which, ever since specialists began to take an interest in it, has been the subject of much controversy: *ardhamaṇḍapa* or *maṇḍapa*, it must be the result of drastic alterations, or even an addition[141].

It should also be noted, that, as in the Devī Jagadambā, the balconies of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* are furnished with five columns, but the roofs of the *maṇḍapa* are more rounded and of much more successful shape. Indeed, the proportions of this temple as a whole are far more elegant. This temple shows clear signs of good preservation and helps to demonstrate that the Devī Jagadambā has probably undergone rather careless restorations.

Mention must be made of the ceiling of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* which differs in structure from that of other temples. The builders have here renounced the square: the corners have been cut off to form an octagon; from this there is a transition into circles which grow smaller towards the centre. The ceiling of the Dulādeo (pl. cxxxviii) gives a precise idea of the way these concentric circles converge towards the centre.

The architectural conception and its realization resemble those of the temples already described and there is no point in discussing them here. On the outside three registers of sculptures decorate the *jaṅghā* and some of these are particularly interesting: on the south front the couple Brahmā and Sarasvatī, on the west front Śiva and Pārvatī, and on the north front Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī, accompanied by Varāha.

Numerous mason-marks, written in *kutila* letters of the Xth and XIth centuries have been brought to light. Cunningham gives a whole list of them[142], which he has drawn up from the Citragupta as well as other temples. He has even given approximate dates to the temples, basing them on the form of these letters.

COPRĀ TANK

This little tank is situated about 200 yards north-east of the Citragupta. In spite of the fact that the ground has caved in, we can imagine that flights of steps on each side of the square used to lead down to the sheet of water and the little pavilion in the centre (pl. xxxvi). The authorities in charge of the preservation of the monuments on the site maintain that in addition to the two floors which still stand, this little pavilion possessed two others. In view of its dilapidated state and the lack of historical or epigraphic documents even mentioning its existence, it is dangerous to hazard even the slightest assumption. For what purpose was it built? To whom was it dedicated? With which temple or temples was it connected? These are questions which remain unanswered.

When one takes the path which leads to the Coprā tank, it is easy to pass by without noticing it, since it is at a much lower level, almost as if it were in a deep pit. But despite its bare and dilapidated appearance, it is well worth a visit, for its white columns have withstood the patina of time and the surrounding waters are of curiously intense turquoise-blue.

VIŚVANĀTHA

In the north-east corner of the enclosure within which the temples of the west group are situated, stands a high *adhiṣṭhāna*, and on it, facing east, the temple is erected. Viśvanātha, 'Lord of All', is one of the many names given to Śiva and it is to this god that the temple is dedicated.

On the lintel of the door leading into the sanctuary, Śiva-Viśvanātha on his mount, Nandin, is enthroned between Brahmā on his *haṃsa* and Viṣṇu on Garuḍa. In the cella, he is represented under the aspect of the *liṅga*. Śiva is portrayed many times on the walls of the temple, either alone (pl. xli, xlv, liii, lvi etc.), or with his consort Pārvatī.

Two inscriptions are embedded on the inside of the *maṇḍapa* wall. The one on the right dates from the year V.S. 1059 (i.e. A.D. 1002–1003), belongs to the temple and affords valuable information. 'King Dhaṅga has built a magnificent temple for the god Śambhu Marakateśvara with two *liṅga*, one of these being of emerald' – the latter was naturally replaced by a stone one which has come down to the present day. Many detailed items about donations and a complete genealogy of the Candella family from Nannuka to Dhaṅga is given in this inscription. It is quite clear that the second inscription has nothing whatever to do with the Viśvanātha temple. It was found on the site of the lost temple of Vaidyanātha and, dated V.S. 1002, it refers to the erection of this Vaidyanātha temple (Lord of Physicians – yet another of Śiva's titles) and of many other constructions piously donated by Kokkala of the Grahapati family. Reference will be made later to this family and its connection with the Jaina temple, Pārśvanātha.

There are also numerous mason-marks and names of pilgrims inscribed in *kutila* characters: for example, Śrī Mahānaga or Śrī Devātiya, the prefix 'Śrī' being typical of *kutila* inscriptions of the Xth century.

The Viśvanātha is 89 ft 1 in. long[148], 45 ft 10 in. wide. The summit of the roof rises to about 85 ft above the platform which, in turn, is 18 ft high. The plan of this temple, its component parts, its shape and the outline of its superstructures against the sky, in short, the edifice as a whole, bears a striking resemblance to the Kaṇḍāriya, as though it had been constructed to try out a certain design on a small scale and then, having proved successful, was repeated on a larger scale. In any case it certainly looks as if one was copied from the other.

As the Viśvanātha has retained many traces of its original structural arrangement, it helps us on the one hand in our study of the plans of the temples on this site, and on the other hand to arrive at certain conclusions and bring forward certain hypotheses. It is the central edifice in a *pañcāyatana* or five-shrine complex of which only the small south-east sanctuary still stands (pl. xxxvii); the stuccoed one to the north-east is modern (pl. xxxviii). This temple has two charac-

teristic peculiarities: a temple to Nandin standing opposite it, and side entrances up to the *adhiṣṭhāna*. Statues of elephants can be seen on either side of the south flight of steps (pl. xxxviii) while the north flight is flanked by a pair of lions. These statues, by the way, do not seem to be standing in their original places. May we deduce from these characteristics that a large temple in Khajurāho was always of the *pañcāyatana* type, with a small sanctuary, destined for the deity's vehicle, standing opposite to it and that the entire complex rested on a platform which could be reached by means of side steps? Since the Viśvanātha, as far as it concerns Khajurāho, is our only source of information on this score, it would be hazardous to draw too definite conclusions. But it does seem likely that it was not the only one of the eighty-five or so temples on the site to be built according to such a plan.

As far as the existence of the *pañcāyatana* goes, the magnificent complex of the Lakṣmaṇa (pl. lxxviii) still stands to confirm it. From the inscription, the construction of the Viśvanātha took place when the Candella dynasty was at the height of its power and as it still continued to reign for a long time, its members covered the site with sanctuaries. Therefore, taking into account the laws governing the history of art, it is difficult to imagine that a structural arrangement, after passing through various stages of development and reaching a point of quasi perfection, did not serve as a model and was not copied and recopied again and again.

The Viśvanātha is a *sāndhāra prāsāda* which has conserved the five parts of its double-cross plan as well as their superstructures. Like the Kaṇḍāriya it is a *saptaratha* with a *śikhara* adorned with *aṅga-śikhara* and crowned with an *āmalaka-śila*, a *khapūri*, a *kalaśa* and a *stūpika*.

The architectural decoration has been executed with care and the same decorative elements have been used to ornate the same parts: for example two *bañdhanā* divide the rows of sculptures in the Viśvanātha (pl. lvi, lvii), while in the Kaṇḍāriya there is only one (pl. xxiv); but in both cases it is the *kīrtimukha* frieze design which decorates the string-course.

The rows of sculptures which decorate the *jaṅghā* are three in number. According to Cunningham there are six hundred and two statues, each one 2–2½ ft high. But what really astonishes the viewer, is the number of elephants, ten of them, standing on the overhanging roof; and not the number alone but also the fact that placed, as they are, on the most exposed parts of the temple, they have withstood the test of time and come down to us in perfect condition.

Inside, this temple is as richly decorated as the others. The ceiling of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* rests on four square pillars, with the angles indented. Eight brackets, placed three quarters of the way up the shaft, used to support female figures and strange and fanciful lion forms. Only one sculpture, an *apsaras* or *vidhyādarī* and a lion, has survived. The method applied in the construction of the ceiling is not different from that of the Kaṇḍāriya.

We do not intend to expand on the quality of the sculptural decoration on the outside of the

temple walls. But one thing we feel is certain: the most beautiful and striking *surasundarī* on the site (pl. xlvii, xlviii, lxiii, lxv), are to be found here and were executed by an artist with a style of his own. The architect may have been the same one as had built other temples or one who followed closely the formula and the prescribed method of construction. But we are convinced that the sculptor who created the female figures in Viśvanātha worked on this temple and this temple alone and endowed his creations with a grace and a vitality and a beauty of form worthy of the classical art of India.

NANDIN

This temple forms part of the large *pañcāyatana* complex which we have just admired and is the sixth building standing on the same platform. Facing west, its entrance is opposite that of the Viśvanātha. The Nandin (bull), *vāhana* of Śiva, must always have his face turned towards the deity, whether he is just in front of the main entrance as we have already seen in the Lālguān Mahādeva (p. 95) or sheltered under a separate *maṇḍapa* as here.

The building is 21 ft 3 in. long, 30 ft 9 in. wide. It is therefore practically square. It consists of a *pābhāga* on which stand twenty columns which support the roof. Except for the Varāha temple (pl. cxxiv), it is the only edifice, still standing on the site, with a colonnade. It is interest-

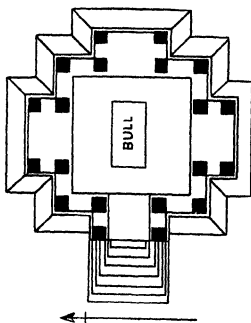



Fig. 13 Plan of the Nandin temple

ing to note that these two temples serve the same purpose: that of sheltering the immense statue of a vehicle or of an incarnation. They have not been treated in the same way as the small sanctuaries arranged in quincunx around the larger temple.

The plan of the Nandin temple is in the form of a cross with the usual supplementary projections at the corners. One of the arms of the cross forms a portico. There is good ground for supposing

that it was built at the same time as the Viśvanātha temple. The Nandin has been treated with particular care and attention from the point of view of proportion as well as of decoration, and this makes a study of it particularly interesting. The structure and the superstructure resemble those of the *maṇḍapa* of the temples on the site as well as the Kadamba of Oṛisā. The Sun temple at Konārak is the most outstanding example.

The *pābhāga* is 10 ft high with prominent mouldings and a profusion of ogees; the typically Indian *kaṇi* found here is noteworthy. A delicate design made up of *caitya*-windows, lotus leaves, etc. covers the mouldings. The top course of the *pābhāga* is decorated with very lively figures of dancers and attendants arranged in pairs flanked with the busts of elephants, and thus forming an exquisite frieze which runs around the entire building. The building is surrounded by a wide bare surface of wall surmounted by an undecorated parapet which repeats the form of the balconied windows of the *kaksāṣana* pattern.

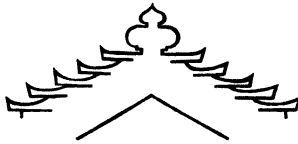



Fig. 14 Conjectural section of the covering of a *maṇḍapa*

At the top of the flight of steps is a threshold stone *(candraśilā)* identical with all those found in Khajurāho which decorate the step leading into the cella or the entrance into the temple.

The unusual bareness of the columns and their bracket capitals *(śirṣa)* is surprising. A sort of overhanging cornice *(cajjā)* with ribbed mouldings rests on the colonnade; it shelters and protects the interior from the weather.

Immediately above this protecting cornice start the first courses of the superstructure, the latter being on the whole in good condition. The extrados, which is in the form of a stepped pyramid, is wide, firmly based and comparatively high; it consists of sixteen receding tiers *(piḍha)*, small stories which narrow rather abruptly to no more than mere roof edges. Parmentier very aptly compared them to 'the slats of a Venetian blind lying on the slant' (pl. lxxiv)[144].

By studying this roof, it can clearly be seen how the coverings of the *maṇḍapa* have been raised on a free-standing cross. Each of its arms has its own superstructure which appears to be very imposing. This impression is created, in the first place, by the carved panels which illustrate

pairs of figures sheltered by small protecting roofs and surmounted by full and half *caitya*-window designs, and again by a *khapūrī* which is highly developed here, an *āmalaka-śila* and the *kalaśa* which surmounts it. In reality, the proper roof is made up of the *pīḍha,* extended to include the entire surface. This can be seen clearly in pl. lxxiii. The top part of the building is relatively high in comparison with the rest of the roofing and serves to lighten the whole.

This effect is due not only to the height of the roof but also to its conical shape. The transition from the sharp edged pyramid to the cone has been solved in a most satisfactory way. It may be pointed out that the dominant part here is not the *āmalaka - śila,* which is always less imposing on the top of the *maṇḍapa* but rather the two *khapūrī* bell-shape constructions, one of which is ribbed; they are used more or less successfully to crown the *maṇḍapa.*

This *maṇḍapa* shelters a colossal statue of Nandin (6 ft high, 7½ ft wide) which is highly polished. On the whole the statue is intact, except for small repairs done to the knees and the horns. There are traces of a female figure seated on the socle beneath the animal's head.

In view of the excellent state of preservation of this temple we should note that the absence of carving on certain parts of a building in Khajurāho does not necessarily mean that it was left unfinished. It may be that the simple stone panels between the elephant frieze and the roof-structure (balconies, columns and capitals) were deliberately left as they are for purely aesthetic reasons.

PĀRVATĪ

This little temple stands alone on a platform adjoining the south-west corner of the Viśvanātha and consists of one *śikhara* which on the whole is very well preserved.

Reading the descriptions of the temples on this site a peculiarity which we meet with again and again at Khajurāho, will be revealed though it is not peculiar to that site. That is that the names which have come down to us do not always fit the buildings to which they are attached. This becomes evident after a careful examination of the iconography which is, after all, the best guide to identification and of primary importance in religious architecture when, as in this case, inscriptions are wanting. The Pārvatī is an example of this. It bears the name of Śiva's consort, yet, in the centre of the lintel above the door to the sanctum, a figure of Viṣṇu suggests that it must have been dedicated to a Vaiṣṇava deity. The image of this god must have disappeared in the course of time, and a Śaiva votary, wishing to honour a divinity of his pantheon, introduced another and named it Pārvatī. A similar situation arose in the Pārśvanātha temple (p. 145).

One glance at the *adhiṣṭhāna*, which resembles a podium, (pl. lxxv) is sufficient to convince us that it too has been restored, altered and, in part, reconstructed from materials salvaged from nearby. This explains the sulptured fragments imbedded in different parts of the structure. No restoration work was carried out on the porch, probably because no remnants of columns or pillars were to be found.

The lower courses of the *pābhāga* extend eastwards and form the basement story of the lost porch. The *śikhara* itself consists of superimposed horizontal courses placed vertically one above the other in the beginning and gradually retreating in step formation from the middle. It is really hard to define where the *bāḍa* ends and the *gaṇḍi* starts such is the uniformity of the whole structure. The style is most conventional, not only in comparison with other *śikhara* on the site, but also with those of the Middle Ages in general. It is evident, that, apart from the *garbhagṛha* which the *śikhara* overtops, the plan contained an *antarāla* the superstructure of which rises from the frame of the doorway and is formed by a curious swelling of the *śikhara* as can be seen in plate lxxv.

We have chosen to place the photographs of the Pārvatī and of the little sanctuary on the south-west corner of the Viśvanātha (pl. lxxv, lxxvi) next to each other since a comparison of the two leads us to the following supposition: the striking resemblance of the little temple to the minor shrines of the two *pañcāyatana* complexes which have come down to us (Viśvanātha: pl. lxxvi and Lakṣmaṇa: pl. lxxviii), suggests that it may be the only remaining shrine of the four placed in quincunx around the temple dedicated to Viṣṇu, the other three having disappeared

like so many on the site. An examination of the various architectural styles preserved at Khajurāho proves this. Whether large or small, the sanctuaries destined for the chief deities belonging to the various religious pantheons, were treated with the greatest care and adorned with a rich ornamentation of which the Pārvatī is totally devoid. There is unfortunately not one inscription to support this supposition, nor, on the other hand, is the actual name of the temple mentioned anywhere. The presumption that it has always been an independent temple is indeed doubtful.

LAKṢMAṆA OR CATURBHUJA

Thanks to the survival of its four chapels in the corners of the *adhiṣṭhāna* and certain other details, this temple is without doubt the most imposing of the Vaiṣṇava temples and one which gives us a clear impression of the architectural idea behind the construction of a *pañcāyatana* complex.

It is part of what we, to facilitate this study, call the West Group and is situated near the large *tīrtha* or tank of Śibsāgar.

A four-armed Viṣṇu (Caturbhuja) with three heads confirms the temple's dedication. The middle head is human while one of the others represents the god under the aspect of Narasiṁha, the man-lion, and the third as Varāha, the boar. Further, at the entrance, on the jamb of the porch door the different *avatāra* of Viṣṇu and the Churning of the Ocean are represented. A large flagstone in the *ardhamaṇḍapa* bears an insctiption dated 1011 of the Vikrama era (A.D. 954). It is supposed to have been found in the temple during the restoration work carried out in the years around 1843. The inscription states that the Lakṣmaṇa was consecrated under Dhaṅga but built under the reign of his father Yaśovarman. It is almost certain that this reference concerns the Lakṣmaṇa, for in verse 42 the temple is described as a 'charming and splendid house of Viṣṇu which reveals the peak of the mountains of snow'.[145] It also gives the genealogy of the Candella.

The Laksmaṇa is a *sāndhāra prāsāda* of which the sanctuary is *pañcaratha*. It is smaller in size than the Kaṇḍāriya (about 83 by 45 ft) but resembles the latter in its plan and architectural conception. It is the only temple to retain its four chapels arranged in quincunx, and this establishes a link between it and the Viśvanātha. These chapels are 18¼ ft long and 11½ ft wide. Those situated at the back of the *adhiṣṭhāna* face east and the two remaining ones face each other. The very uncanonical orientation of the two in the front may be due to practical reasons; the height of the *adhiṣṭhāna* is such that if they, too, faced east, it would have been necessary to build steps to reach them.

The similarity between the plans and state of preservation of the subsidiary temples belonging to the Viśvanātha and the Lakṣmaṇa had led several scholars to suppose that the latter also had a sixth temple dedicated to the vehicle – Garuḍa in this case – which stood in much the same way as the Nandin stands to the Viśvanātha and, according to the rules governing *pañcāyatana* plans, on the main axis of the principal temple. This supposed temple to Garuḍa has disappeared and there is a theory that the small temple known as the Devī was built in its place. However we have every reason to believe that things developed on different lines in the Lakṣmaṇa. Even though restored and altered, the platform is exactly as it was in the original plan,

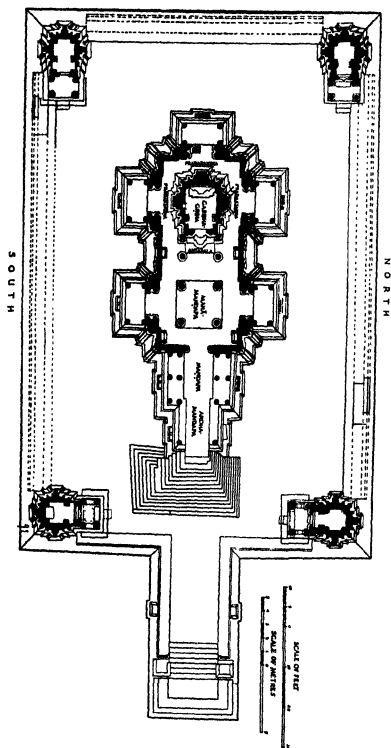



Fig. 15 Plan of the Lakṣmaṇa and its *pañcāyatana* complex

and the steps, with the two niches on either side, are in the same place. It is therefore obviously impossible that a sixth temple was placed near to it in the same way as the Nandin is placed near the Viśvanātha. An examination of the east side of this *adhiṣṭhāna* reveals that the upper part, the balustrade, the niches and even a large part of the frieze decorating the podium at the height of a man, have obviously been replaced by stone blocks of a recent date (plate lxxviii). But the lower part which, after all, follows closely the lines of the plan, looks as if it is original. And the entrance opening between the two niches is much too narrow to be a continuation of the *adhiṣṭhāna* on which the temple of the vehicle was situated. Should this assumption be correct, and the inscription, which accords the Viśvanātha a date later than the Lakṣmaṇa, be authentic, it would be logical to presume that the temple of the vehicle was attached to the same platform at a later date, perhaps to meet cult requirements.

The resemblance between the plans, elevation, covering and different architectural formulas adapted for these three main temples leads us to the conclusion that the differences alleged to exist between Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva temples are without foundation at least as far as the vertical lines are concerned. What does it signify that the superstructures of the Laksmaṇa are less high than those of the Kaṇḍāriya as long as they are proportionate to the size of the building? What does it matter if the zones of sculptures on the main part of the building are two instead of three? The artistic and religious notion behind the constructions is exactly the same.

First let us consider ritual needs. In India, worship demands a *garbhagṛha* which houses the image, an *antarāla* in front of it and a *maṇḍapa* for the faithful who come to pray. Certain modifications are characteristic of various regions, as for example the *nāṭa-maṇḍapa* or dancing hall of Oṛisā. In Khajurāho the existence of a *pradakṣiṇā-patha* (circumambulatory passage) suggests that, if not the faithful, at least the initiated had access into the interior of the temple and were allowed to circumambulate. The *maṇḍapa* becomes the *mahāmaṇḍapa* which is preceded by a long porch formed of two separate parts, the *maṇḍapa* and the *ardhamaṇḍapa*. Openings in the form of balconies, typical of Khajurāho, let in sufficient light for those performing the *pradakṣiṇā* to admire and meditate upon the exceptionally beautiful images from the pantheon of their religion. These statues cover the inside of the temple wall and the outside of the cella wall. The inside of the cella is bare. The *pradakṣiṇā-patha* is not peculiar to Khajurāho alone; it is also found in the Virūpākṣa and the Papanātha temples at Paṭṭadakal.[146]

Aesthetic considerations also played their part. The ingenious use of vertical and horizontal lines which accentuate the lift of the edifice skywards is not the only feature; balance and the wise exploitation of bulk is another. And one thing which does not strike the viewer immediately but only after close examination, is the multitude of minute details which, treated with meticulous care, contribute to the general aim of beautifying the whole. To mention only a few of these:

the projections, the distribution of the different kinds of mouldings, the clever use of the niches, statues and decorative friezes, the protecting roofs, the sloping balustrades, the balconied openings, the wide-spread use of curved lines and hollows. These examples could be multiplied.

We have already remarked that the *adhiṣṭhāna* on which the *pañcāyatana* of Lakṣmaṇa stands has undergone alterations. All the same, it is the only one on the site which has preserved its wide long friezes under the balustrade and these represent on the narrative low reliefs the favourite themes of Khajurāho: commemoration of warlike deeds, animal processions, love scenes etc. (plates xcvi–ci, cx, cxvii).

From the *adhiṣṭhāna*, the flight of steps leading to the temple catches the eye. It has probably undergone many changes, too, for it is difficult to believe that architects who were always so mindful of symmetry could have built it so askew and out of balance. It is indeed wider at one side, and therefore more in keeping with the south-east than with the north-east chapel.

These four small chapels are dedicated to Viṣṇu whose image on the door lintel dominates the entrance. This lintel is sheltered by a portico flanked by two columns which support a roof (pl. lxxviii, cviii). The decoration of the two chapels on the east side of the *adhiṣṭhāna* (pl. lxxviii) is in a better state of preservation than that of the other two and it is easy to pick out the double *āmalaka-śila* finial.

In the chapter 'Place of Khajurāho in the artistic evolution of India' we have, on page 73, situated the architecture of Khajurāho in the Nāgara style, to which it belongs not only because of its geographical position, but also and especially because of its curvilinear roofing and the general conception of the plans, the joining of the constituent parts of the temple, its height and countless other features. Indeed at first sight a temple like the Kaṇḍāriya or the Lakṣmaṇa seems to be in no way related to those of Oṛīsā, Rājasthān or Kāṭhiāwār. But the range of the Nāgara style is not only extensive but varied as well. As to the site in question we regret not to have hit upon one of the numerous *śilpaśāstra* which should contain if not all, at least part of the rules governing temple building in India. There is indeed a fact we must not forget, the *śilpin* transmitted most of their knowledge by word of mouth. However, treatises on architecture fortunately exist, at any rate elsewhere, such as the manuscript published and commented by N. K. Bose in one of the most serious and most thorough studies which have been made in the field of Indian architecture: 'Canons of Orissan Architecture'. So in the absence of a *śilpaśāstra* we try to back up our suppositions by epigraphic data, comparative stylistic studies and all kinds of other information which is of value.

As regards the plans of the temples, the actual style of the sculpture and the range of decorative designs, it is particularly in the early period of Rājasthān that a relation is to be found. The affinity with Khajurāho is, however, most striking when examining the drawings of the

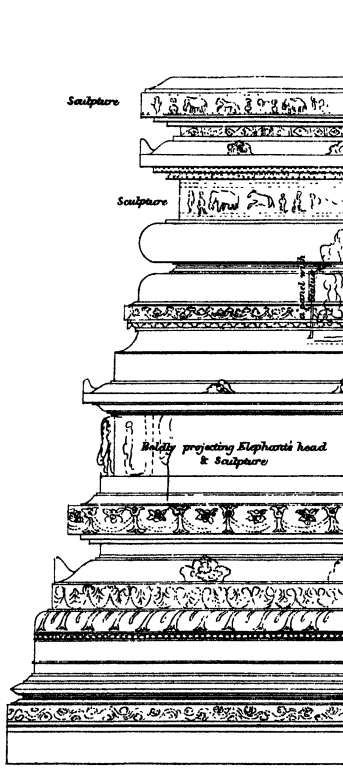



Fig. 16 Lakṣmaṇa. Design of mouldings and decorations of the plinth

śikhara of Oṛisā, given by N. K. Bose, and especially those of the Rekhā type. Yet this undeniable affinity should not lead to the conclusion that there is some similarity or resemblance. We only wish to point out that the basic data, the starting points of the two types of architecture, particularly that of the *śikhara*, were the same. We shall make this clear. The horizontal divisions of the body of the Rekhā type of building, namely the *piṣṭā*, *pābhāga*, *jaṅghā*, *bañdhanā*, *baraṇḍa*, *gaṇḍi*, *mastaka*, *kalaśa*, the whole split up by the verticals formed by the *paga*, the *rāhā* the *rathaka* and the *koṇaka-paga* adorned by *āmalaka*, are also found in the temples of Khajurāho, which are definitely the result, the culminating point of an evolution which is quite different from that of the Oṛisā temples. The architectural parts which we have just enumerated are, all of them, more important, more elaborate in Khajurāho than in Oṛisā (like, for instance, the temple of Kailāsa at Puri), and ornamental sculpture as well as high relief statuary are plentiful and cover the exterior and the interior of the temples on our site. On the other hand, a characteristic feature of Oṛisā is the total absence of sculpture in the interior of the temples.

The *pābhāga* of the Lakṣmaṇa is a convincing example of this rich ornamentation. None of the more imposing specimens of the architecture of Oṛisā possesses a base of an importance and a beauty equivalent to this one. Placed just against the flagging of the *adhiṣṭāna* two courses, the second of which is finely decorated, form the *piṣṭā* or pedestal of the temple. Immediately after this comes the most beautiful *pābhāga* that we have seen in Khajurāho, the first projecting moulding of which is the *kaṇi*. We publish in figure 16 the very careful drawing made by the Archaeological Department of India, which will facilitate the reading of plate lxxxii and will enable us to give some explanations relating to this part of the temple. The decorative sculpture covering this *pābhāga* consists mainly of floral motives (garlands, lotus petals, foliage etc.), which are very finely chiselled, and of strips showing animated scenes, all of them being harmoniously incorporated in the architectural whole. These decorations, interspersed with important smooth mouldings, far from making the *pābhāga* heavier, make it lighter. The drawing in figure 16 causes one to realize how well studied and balanced the decorated parts and the bare ones are. Indeed it is mainly on the string-courses that this tendency towards elaborate decoration is to be seen, and no rounded surface, scotia, torus or doucine (except the first one from the lowest part) shows a trace of ornamentation. The range of floral patterns is varied, not at all conventionalized, often simply chiselled on the stone, and occasionally a strand of geometric design, for instance pearls, form a kind of finishing touch. This *pābhāga* comprises three categories of animated scenes. On the upper part are two long continuous friezes which, in a rhythm full of exuberance, tell the story of some great feat or achievement (detail in plate lxxxix). It is just these friezes, little and great stories told in stone, which, on the one hand, show us a freer style of sculpture, entirely different from that used for the statuary, and, on the other hand, are a valuable source

for a thousand and one details of daily life and of the daily acitvities in the kingdom of Candella. In the plates lxxxi, lxxiv and lxxvii we have two examples of the second category of animated scenes. It is no longer a matter of friezes, but of little scenes which may be dances or erotic scenes, hunting stories or fighting stories (plate cxxxvii); they cover small panels, the surface of which one expects to be smooth and which are to be found in the most unexpected corners and recesses. They even adorn the *gaṇḍi* as shown in plate clv under the *aṅga-śikhara.*

The *pābhāga* of the Lakṣmaṇa gives us an instance of a third category of animated frieze, not with geometric or floral ornamentation. It concerns the broadest string-course formed by front parts of elephants in high relief, which are separated by couples of persons (hunters, dancers etc.), the movements and rhythm of which animate this frieze. Among the temples of this site which we have seen the only one that possesses this kind of frieze is the Nandin (page 113). One can hardly refrain from thinking of the splendid front parts of elephants which make the impression of bearing the whole Kailāsanātha at Ellora, constructed nearly two centuries before the Lakṣmaṇa. It is certainly outside the scope of this description to enter into the symbolism expressed by the presence of these elephants on the lower parts of the temples.

We have frequently mentioned the part played in this kind of architecture by the scientific combination of the verticals and the horizontals, and the studied arrangement of the niches is stated. This can especially be established on the *pābhāga.* A very important niche, like a reduced building with its base and its superstructure, rises up on each transverse opening in the wall and under the corresponding balconies on each side of the temple in the *ardhamaṇḍapa* or *maṇḍapa,* the *mahāmaṇḍapa* and the *garbhagṛha* (plates lxxvii and lxxxii). They are also found with the same arrangement in all the temples on the site, and they mainly serve as shelters for the divinity to whom the temple is dedicated in his different forms or for other deities belonging to the pantheon of the same religion. On the other hand a great number of other small niches, which have high or less high superstructures, and form more or less important verticals (plate lxxxii), are arranged accordingly; this was necessary for the equilibrium of the masses, and they are not in all temples situated in the same canonical place.

The end of this high *pābhāga* is demarcated by one of the animated friezes already mentioned on page 122, which runs like a closing circle along all parts of the temple. One will see in plate lxxxix, in continuation of this frieze, a broad string-course composed of slighty projecting niches forming shelters for those belonging to this whole world of secondary deities (in this case probably *yakṣa)* so familiar in Indian art. These niches are found alternately with one of the decorative patterns preferred by the architects of our site, namely a kind of fleuron in a rhomb or rectangle. With the string-course in question begins the abundant floral decoration, in curved forms, of the balconies which shows a great variety of designs. The whole part formed by the bal-

conies, their balustrades, their columns with bracket capitals, the important porch roofs included, is identical in all temples, in any case as far as the composing architectural parts are concerned. What often differs is the style, the way of treating the ornamental sculpture. When comparing, for instance, the balconies of the Lakṣmaṇa in plates lxxxii and lxxxix and those of the Viśvanātha in plates lv and lxxi, we realize how much higher the relief of scroll work is on some pillars of the Lakṣmaṇa, where indeed one finds side by side some volutes rather cut away than carved, and others as plastic in volume as the animated sculpture (plate lxxxix).

We have repeatedly dwelt on the beautiful balconied openings, their deep shadows cast over the whole composition, the light and shade created by the alternate projections and recesses of the various friezes and sculptural bands. We must also tell something about the sculpture of the persons adorning mainly the two arrays on the *jaṅghā*. Their sinuous grace, their voluminous modelling, a certain nearly human warmth which they radiate vibrate the walls of the Lakṣmaṇa and make us think that certain works of these medieval beginnings originate direct from the golden age which was the period of the Gupta in India.

With the help of plates lxxvii and lxxviii it will be easy to bring out one of the characteristics of the Lakṣmaṇa. The superstructures of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*, the *maṇḍapa* and the *ardhamaṇḍapa* are pyramidals formed by receding tiers *(pīḍha)* without any subsidiary *síkhara* and of a very straight contour. This sort of superstructure, which we find repeatedly on the site (Nandin, Brahmā and Mātaṅgeśvara temples), is related to all those covering the *jagamohana* of the temples of Oṛisā. To mention only one as an instance we refer to the silhouette of the Mukteśvara (P. Brown, *Indian Architecture*, plate lxx). It may be possible to express the supposition that those at Khajurāho are older than the other more elaborate ones and that they form one of the links connecting the architecture of Khajurāho with that of Oṛisā.

DEVĪ

With this little temple near to the Lakṣmaṇa, we find ourselves once more in the realm of supposition, not only as to its date, but also as to its original purpose. Facing west, was it a part of a *pañcāyatana* or did it always stand alone as it does today? The second supposition is not a very probable one for reasons similar to those put forward in the case of the Pārvatī.

One thing is certain: the name given to it is incorrect. It is true that the cella shelters a four-armed female statue taken to be Śiva's consort, but the fact that Viṣṇu is represented in the centre of the lintel above the door leading into the sanctuary, with Brahmā on his right and Śiva on his left, proves that the image worshipped there, was not Devī's.

We shall not discuss here the high platform which was obviously not only restored but completely reconstructed.

The *garbhagṛha* is capped by a slender, tapering tower or *śikhara* with no prominent swelling, yet the *pābhāga* which rests on the platform is bell-mouthed. The main part of the *śikhara* and the wide, flat layers which form the superstructure are without ornamentation, and so is the *jaṅghā*.

Certain decorative designs of the usual type adorn the mouldings of the base and the roof of the *antarāla* which has a doorway as elaborately ornamented as the one leading into the sanctuary. We shall not discuss here the decoration of these doorways which resembles greatly that of other temples. The base of the porch, the columns and the pillars with their respective capitals, belong to the original construction. But the roof of the porch is most certainly the product of a worthless restoration, belonging to recent times, and has nothing in common with the style characteristic of the site.

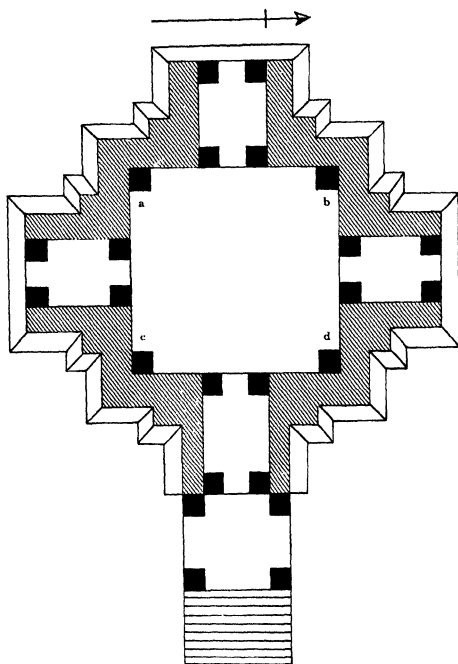



Fig. 17 Mātaṅgeśvara. The plan before later restaurations

MĀTAṄGEŚVARA

It seems that this temple has never ceased to be a centre of worship and for this reason it is looked upon as the holiest in Khajurāho.

It is often called Mṛtaṅ Mahādeo which probably comes from Mṛtyuṃ-jaya Mahādeva, the great God, victorious over death, one of the epithets describing the god Śiva to whom it is dedicated.

The *adhiṣṭhāna* on which it stands is a sort of extension of that of the Lakṣmaṇa about thirty feet south of which it is situated. Once again it strikes us how close to each other the temples of this sacred city are; there are many, which, like the Mātaṅgeśvara, have very little open space around them.

The plan bears a striking resemblance to that of the Nandin. Like it, it is in the form of a cross and has twenty columns, which serve not only to support the roof, but also to strengthen the walls. The Mātaṅgeśvara is 24 sq. ft on the inside and 35 sq. ft on the outside. A large porch which prolongs the eastern arm of the cross is 18½ ft long and 9½ ft wide. It surmounts the flight of steps leading into the temple. A second flight leads to the balcony which corresponds to the northern arm of the cross and gives the façade a peculiar, even unusual, appearance. It is impossible to tell with any degree of certainty whether this flight is an addition belonging to a later date. One thing, however, is certain: when in 1879 the plan was traced out this flight was already in existence.[147] The three projections of the cross are marked by balconied windows with *kaksāṣana*, canopied by the overhanging cave *(cajjā)* which is characteristic in Khajurāho and in that very case looks extremely proeminent. What really happens is that here the *pīḍha* of the superstructure are particularly withdrawn, which is not the case of the superstructures of the *maṇḍapa* in Khajurāho. Pl. cxxiii shows the balcony on the south side, to the left of the entrance.

A characteristic feature of this temple is the absence of decoration on the outside. Even purely lineal ornamentations, finishing touches so to speak, formed by courses and mouldings, are missing. There is one exception and that is the *caitya*-window used as decoration on the roof. We have already come across small edifices on this site, Lālguān Mahādeva for instance, which are not provided with the animated friezes and wide rows of statues of gods and heavenly beings, which succeed one another on the temple walls. But not one of the large buildings has such bare walls and stone-work as the Mātaṅgeśvara. This impressed Cunningham too, for he mentions it,[148] adding that the entire temple was covered by a thick coating of plaster which, in his opinion, hid all the carved decoration. He believed too that the interior, as far as it could be

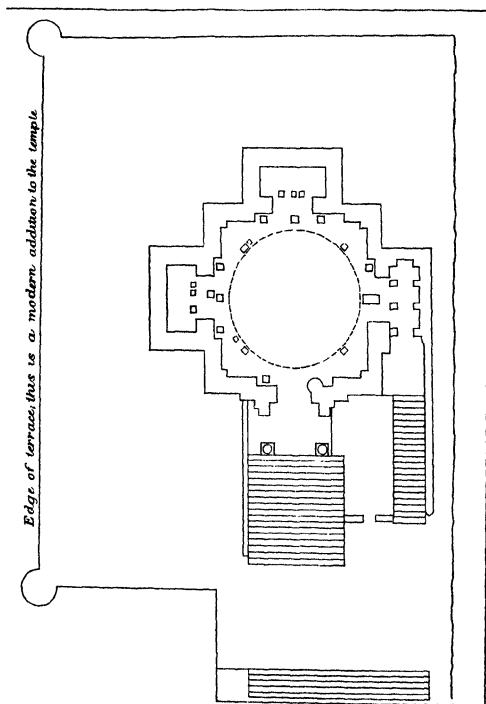



Fig. 18 Mātaṅgeśvara. Its present appearance

judged (since entrance into it was prohibited), seemed to have suffered the same fate. As far as the interior is concerned it is known now that it was plain and devoid of any decoration. It seems anyhow impossible to us that statues which are usually carved in very high relief, should disappear completely through being covered by layers of plaster, however thick these may be. Besides, we must take into account that, in Indian architecture, to cover the temples in this way was a normal, even compulsory process. '*Sūdhāśilā*, plaster and *vajralepa*, a glue cement and coating, were applied; there is no lack of prescriptions how to prepare them. *Vajrelepa* is a hardened glue mixed with other substances such as conch-shell powder or white earth (kaolin). *Vajralepa* is made of either purely vegetable substances, or hides and horns: to the latter could be added a mixture of metallic substances or lime. *Vajralepa* which means 'diamond plaster' is so called because it is especially durable and firm; it is recommended for these qualities in the *Śilparatna* (XIV, 58–75) in a passage which deals with the different kinds of lime plaster *(sūdhā)*. The careful process of mixing the several ingredients with the granulated and powdered lime from gravel and conch shell lasted from two to four months with the result that the plaster was not only durable but also that it had none of the stark deadness of effect which for instance white-wash imparts. It is a rich and creamy white, discreetly shining, like polished ivory or some ancient enamel'.[149]

It is most likely that a temple in religious use was regularly plastered so as to appear fresh and shining. The Chebrolu Inscription, Kistna District,[150] early in the XIII century A.D., describing the restoration of all the temples in the sacred city, adds that they were made resplendent by new coatings of plaster. Thus we find it difficult to agree with Cunningham's theory on this point.

It is interesting to note, on examining pl. lxxiv and cxxiii, how an architect arrives at different results though he starts to work with the same plan and employs the same method of construction and covering. The roof of the Mātaṅgeśvara is higher by far than that of the Nandin. Its first courses do not correspond to the cross-shaped plan. The three balconies with their protecting roofs stick out sharply. The superstructure (a kind of *śikhara?*) rises in pyramidal form with sharp arrises at the four corners. The gradations of this roof, thirty-three in number, resemble once again small stones which become narrower the higher they get, though less steeply in this case, and the edges have no ornament whatever. Only the pinnacle which surmounts the pyramidal roof has been treated with studied elegance. It seems that in about 1871, the Rāja of Chatarpur caused it to be gilded.

The porch, covered by a protecting roof, completes the cross, the three remaining arms of which have balconied openings. This fourth arm of the cross, pointing eastwards, is really the *antarāla*, the superstructure of which resembles greatly those we have already described in other

temples. It is on the roof covering this part of the building that the *caitya*-window designs are to be seen. Above the thirteenth course runs a band (white on pl. cxxiii) decorated with a diamond-like pattern such as we have often seen before. Then comes a triangular superstructure decorated with combined full and half *caitya*-window designs which stand out against a background of smooth bright stone. The whole is surmounted by a lion rampant in high relief.

For a description of the interior of the temple we are obliged to follow the excellent guide-book by B. L. Dhama who, being able to enter the temple, gives this account of it[151]: 'The ceiling formed of overlapping concentric circles, rests on an octagon which in turn is supported on four pairs of pillars. The four pillars in the corners are later additions to support the cracked lintels of the ceiling. The entire inner floor of the sanctum is occupied by a large *gaurī-paṭṭa* 24 ft 4 in. in diameter and 4 ft 5 in. in height, in which is set a highly polished colossal *liṅga* 3 ft 8 in. in diameter and 8 ft 4 in. in height. On the body of the *liṅga* are two later Persian and several Nāgarī epigraphs written in indelible ink.'

The four pillars which Dhama refers to are a, b, c and d on fig. 17. We found it necessary to reproduce these two plans side by side because fig. 18 gives a clearer idea of the enormous cupola formed by concentric circles and of the two flights of steps, while the pillars which were added later to strengthen this cupola, are shown more distinctly in the AR,ASI plan.

VARĀHA

Facing west this small, open temple stands opposite the Mātaṅgeśvara. It houses the huge monolithic statue of a boar (8 ft 9 in. long, 5 ft 9 in. high) in a standing position on a low pedestal. This statue is a representation of Varāha, one of the most important *avatāra* of Viṣṇu and one of the first five incarnations, of mythological origin.

The plan is most simple and differs from that of the Nandin, although these two temples look very alike from the outside (pl. lxxiv, cxxiv). The Varāha stands on an exceptionally high platform (20 ft 6 in. in length, 16 ft in breadth), and fourteen columns support the roofing. Two of these support a jutting porch. The roof which is pyramidal and rises in regular receding tiers *(piḍha)*

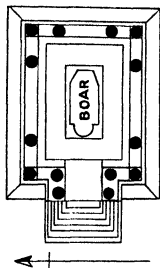



Fig. 19 Plan of the Varāha temple

is designed like the roof of the *maṇḍapa* and resembles that of the Mātaṅgeśvara. The finial consists of a *khapūrī*, two *āmalaka*, the *kalaśa* and the *stūpika*. All those elements unornamented. It would be hazardous to form any conclusion about its original outside appearance as it has obviously undergone renovations. We are inclined to place it in the same category and in the same period as the Mātaṅgeśvara, a temple surprisingly bare and lacking in ornamental elements. Yet there is evidence that certain parts were more ornamented than they appear today. The covering of the porch and the capital of one of the columns which support it show signs (pl. cxxiv) of ornamental carving.

Representations of Viṣṇu under the aspect of Varāha the boar, of Narasiṁha the man-lion, and of Vāmana the dwarf, were very popular in the Middle Ages, especially in the kingdom of the Candella. Apart from the inscription of V.S. 1011, found among the ruins of the Lakṣmaṇa temple, which sings the praises of Viṣṇu's various *avatāra*, we can point out a number of sculptures decorating the temples where the god appears chiefly in the form of the boar and that of the man-lion. It suffices to mention that one of the most celebrated statues on the site is the image which still stands in the cell of the Lakṣmaṇa and represents Viṣṇu with three heads: the central one is human, with the boar's head on one side, and the lion's on the other.

In his *avatāra* of Varāha, Viṣṇu appears in North India under two aspects: the theriomorphic as in the case of the statue here, and the therioanthropomorphic or hybrid form. As far as the latter form is concerned, the hybridity applies only to the head, a boar's, while the rest is human. It is in this form only that Varāha is represented in South India where the theriomorphic form never appears. This combination of the two forms characteristic of the North is present at Khajurāho, too, and apart from the famous boar statues of Dudāhi and Eran, and the one of the Haihaya at Tripurī the museums of Gwālior and Lucknow contain a number of specimens. The Dudāhi ruins constitute the only remaining traces of an entire group of temples dedicated to Varāha[152]. The most interesting boar statue of that site, from comparison with our example, is the one in the second group of ruins. On Varāha's left stands Pṛthvī (Mother Earth) and beneath the animal, a sinuous Nāga. The Varāha statues in Dudāhi are valuable for the information they give on iconography and religion under the Candella, for a local inscription proves[153] that they can be attributed to Devalabadhi, the grandson of Yaśovarman.

If we compare the Varāha statue in Khajurāho with those of Dudāhi and Eran[154] we are convinced beyond a doubt that the two feet of the missing human figure (pl. cxxvi) belong to Pṛthvī. Cunningham[155] discovered traces of the goddess's two hands on the boar's neck.

According to traditional lore, Viṣṇu in the guise of Varāha kills the demon Hiranyākṣa who had hurled Pṛthvī to the bottom of the sea, and the long sinuous serpent is the Śeṣa Nāga rising out of the foamy waves to worship them.

Varāha's body, feet and head are completely covered with small human figures, and beautifully finished to a glossy lustre. All the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon are represented here and the principal ones, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sarasvatī, Gaṅgā are easily recognized. They are accompanied by a large number of minor deities: Deva, Asura, Ṛṣi, Nāga, Gandharva, Aṣṭa-Dikpāla, the Navagraha, all of whom, says the legend, sought refuge on Varāha's back at the time when the Ocean swallowed up the Earth. If the aim of the artists who created this enormous statue in full round was to depict the god's power and strength, they have indeed succeeded in doing so.

II. THE TEMPLES OF THE EAST GROUP

A. BRAHMANICAL SANCTUARIES

B. JAINA SANCTUARIES

BRAHMĀ

This temple is reached by a path which passes through the present village of Khajurāho and runs along the Khajur Sāgar or Ninorā Tāl. Facing eastwards, the Brahmā has the road on its north side and the lake on its south.

Here again the name is the result of an old misunderstanding. It used to be customary to identify the *caturmukha liṅga* installed in the sanctuary as a four-faced statue of Brahmā. Yet there is no doubt that this is a phallic symbol of Śiva. Viṣṇu's presence on the lintel of the door leading into the sanctuary and above the window on the west-front, presents a further problem, but it is likely that these stone blocks do not belong to the original structure, for they are of a different material from that of the rest of the temple.

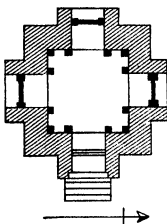



Fig. 20 Brahmā temple: ground plan

The plan is a cross fitted into a square, 19 ft on the outside and 10½ ft on the inside. It bears a striking resemblance to that of the Nandin (fig. 13) and contains exactly the same number of columns. The eight which support the protecting roof of the Nandin are here incorporated in the construction and serve as door and window jambs. This similarity applies however only to the plan of the temples, for the elevation of the Brahmā shows unbroken walls, its *jaṅghā* being plain and without decoration. It differs from the Nandin in a number of ways. The chief difference lies in the massiveness of its exterior and in its bare appearance. This temple should rather be compared to the Lālguān Mahādeva. The same stylistic conception prevails on both of them.

Sandstone and granite have been used in the construction: granite for the jambs of the four

openings (three windows and one door) and for the twelve columns: the rest of the building is entirely of sandstone. The use of granite has led more than one specialist to conclude that the Brahmā is an ancient temple. We have already explained in our description of the Lālguān Mahādeva (p. 94) that, as far as the Khajurāho temples are concerned, we find it difficult to support the theory that the use of granite is a proof of antiquity. On the other hand, its ancient appearance suggests that it belongs to an early date.

The three arms of the cross are provided with curious openings. A thick screen of perforated stone covers each one. These shutters are of a simple pattern but each one is different in design.

The mouldings of the *pābhāga* show no traces of decoration, and rise to a considerable height up to the *jaṅghā*. Nothing remains of the portico except a pile of stone blocks above the door which proves its existence at one time. The superstructure of this temple is in good condition and its construction is like that of the *maṇḍapa*. The absence of carving on the outside does not mean that the edifice was totally devoid of it. A decorative frieze runs all around the building, just after the mouldings of the *baraṇḍa* and the beginning of the receding tiers which form the superstructure. The pattern is geometrically simple, just only pilasters alternating with this so peculiar diamond-like pattern. The door leading into the sanctum is also decorated, in the style characteristic of Khajurāho and of mediaeval India as a whole. The *mastaka* is in extremely good state of conservation, and very elaborate and important for such a small and simple structure. A beautifully ribbed *khapūrī* is surmounted by one large and one smaller ribbed *āmalaka-śila*.

VĀMANA

On leaving the Brahmā temple, if we follow the road along the Khajur Sāgar for a few yards and then, a little farther on, branch off to right in a north-easterly direction we come upon the Vāmana temple standing in the open (pl. cxxxi) on a particularly high platform which very likely caps a natural mound. The plan of the Khajurāho site, which we owe to the efforts of the Archeological Department of India (pag. 84), shows clearly that the Vāmana must have belonged to a group of temples clustered on this elevated part of the site, of which it is the only surviving one.

The identification of this temple presents no problem whatever. It is dedicated to Viṣṇu in the aspect of the Dwarf, one of the god's first five incarnations, of purely mythological origin. This statue of Vāmana, the Dwarf incarnation, 4 ft 8 in. high, is installed in the sanctuary. An undated inscription[156] of Harsadeva's time was found near the temple, but there is no proof that it belongs to the period of the erection of the sanctuary.

The Vāmana temple is a *nirandhāra prāsāda* and its plan links it with the Devī Jagadambā and the Citragupta; but only the *garbhagṛha*, the *antarāla* and the *mahāmaṇḍapa* have been preserved. On the entrance side of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*, shown in plate cxxxi, a rather prominent projection of the lower part of the base still stands, forming part of the original construction. This proves that a porch, of which the superstructure has been lost, must have existed here originally. The measurements of this temple as it stands on its *adhiṣṭhāna* are 62 ft 9 in. in length and 45 ft 3 in. in breadth.

Although architectural principles characteristic of the entire site have been applied to its construction, the appearance of the Vāmana temple from the outside is heavier and bulkier than that of the other temples. The three parts which remain are in an excellent state of preservation and facilitate the study of the original construction. The *śikhara* is of a simple type. It is not our intention to discuss again the origins of the *śikhara;* we have already explained them and the evolution of which it is the culmination. The Vāmana is the first large temple in our study of Khajurāho which possesses a *śikhara* without *aṅga-śikhara* (except of course for the small temples arranged in quincunx in the *pañcāyatana* group and two others which, we presumed, are standing on their own). Yet it is not the only one with this peculiarity. The Jaina Ādinātha temple and the Vaiṣṇava Jatkāri temple are linked with the Vāmana not only by their plan, but also by the shape of their *śikhara*. Though the temples of Khajurāho are all based on the same principles, not two of them are identical. In the Vāmana, a net-work of *caitya*-windows covers the entire *śikhara* and the corner *āmalaka* have disappeared, leaving only a few, small, slightly

ribbed, projecting layers which are but the indistinct remains of their original form. The *śikhara* of the Ādinātha, on the contrary, has slightly more prominent *āmalaka* which adorn the *koṇaka-paga* of its *gaṇḍi*. (pl. cliv).

The vertical lines of the salients stand out sharp and clear on the *śikhara* of the Vāmana (pl. cxxxi) and the outline of the whole is bare and hard. It contrasts strangely with that of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* where the superstructure is elaborately decorated. Here can be seen a whole combination of semi-circular projections, their edges decorated with full and half *caitya*-window designs alternating with flat strips, which strike a more dominant note, and all these converge together towards the finial. Several crowning *āmalaka* in excellent condition suggest the existence of *stūpika* and *kalaśa* now lost. Of these finials only those on the *śikhara* and the *mahāmaṇḍapa* remain both slender and elegant.

The outside decoration is of the same kind as that found on the other temples. We miss however the picturesque little friezes on the flat string-course along the *pābhāga*, here replaced by a geometrical design. Two niches standing on a level with the two rows of statuary, correspond with each of the central projecting ridges which run along three sides of the *śikhara;* they shelter important deities. We can recognize, in the lower row, the god Viṣṇu in three aspects: his *avatāra* Narasiṁha, Varāha and Vāmana. The upper row represents three groups which are most interesting from an iconographical point of view. They are the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī on the west, Viṣṇu and his consort Lakṣmī on the north, while on the south is the very rare representation of Brahmā accompanied by Brahmāṇī. In addition to the three incarnations of Viṣṇu represented on the outside of the Vāmana temple, we would draw attention to this god under his ninth *avatāra*, that of the Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā* (touching the earth).

Apart from these divinities, most of the sculpture which decorates the rows consist of *apsaras* carved almost in full round. The bodies are very slender, in contrast with the complicated and eleborate hair style. The artist has certainly succeeded in capturing that insubstantiality which is proper to every celestial being.

Through legends and myths we are acquainted with these beautiful creatures, dancers and nymphs of Indra's heaven. Besides the fascinating beauty which their charm and grace express, their figures form vertical lines which lead the eye upwards to the summit of the *śikhara*.

JAVĀRI

Plate cxxx illustrates, better than any description, the atmosphere and the surroundings in which this small and elegantly formed temple stands. In spite of its smallness (39 ft long by 21 ft wide) it is one of the most finished architectural works on the Khajurāho site.

Facing east, it is situated to the north-east of the present little village of Khajurāho which has sprung up on the banks of the Khajur Sāgar and derives its name from the fields, Jabār which surround it. There is no doubt about the dedication which was to Visṇu of whom an original four-armed image is enshrined in the sanctum. On the other hand, not a single allusion in the inscriptions sheds light on the date of consecration or helps us in the study of its style; for its architecture, as well as the nature and style of its sculptures, links it with the large architectural groups which we have already described.

The building has come down to us in perfect condition and shows less signs than other structures of manifold restorations throughout the centuries; not so, however, has the *adhiṣṭhāna* on which it stands, for this has hardly retained anything of its original appearance.

The Javāri is a *nirandhāra prāsāda* and consists of an *ardhamaṇḍapa*, a *maṇḍapa*, an *antarāla* and a *garbhagṛha*. The high unornamented *adhiṣṭhāna* on which these stand as well as the flight of steps which leads up to the porch look as if they have undergone alterations. The *makara-toraṇa* of the porch is remarkably beautiful and resembles closely that of the Kaṇḍāriya. An architectural peculiarity links it with the latter as well as with the two other large edifices on the site, the Laksmaṇa and the Viśvanātha. The *maṇḍapa* is an extension of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* and even looks like a long entrance passage.

The impression that these two architectural component parts form a whole is accentuated by the horizontal range of balconied openings of *kaksāṣana* type, which runs along both parts of the edifice, narrow along the porch and becoming wider where it abuts on the body of the *śikhara*. This idea of continuity is accentuated by a very prominent cornice *(cajjā)* which runs along at the same level, projecting so as to form an overhanging roof, from the exterior part of which starts the elaboration of the whole roofing; this *cajjā* rests on eight bracket capitals belonging to those columns which in Khajurāho architecture play such an important role. The functional difference between each portion of the building and what makes of each part a separate architectural whole is his own separate superstructure.

An intermediate chamber *(antarāla)* necessary to reach the *garbhagṛha* served the needs of the builder marvellously. Through it he was able to join, the first section of the building to the *śikhara*. He achieved it, in a perfectly satisfactory way although the first part of the building was

so different in style and structure from the slender and soaring *śikhara* devoid of openings. Here again the perfect equilibrum of the bulk of masonry is assured by the builder's intelligent use of horizontal strata and pronounced vertical projections. The proportions are beautiful and the component elements so studied and elaborate that the outline of this little sanctuary has an elegance entirely its own.

We would draw attention that the Javāri in spite of his smallness, is covered with a rich architectural and sculptural ornamentation of complicated design.

The *jaṅghā* has three rows of statuary, while larger temples of the site have only two.

Some of the statues of the *jaṅghā* are housed into niches framed by circular pilasters and canopied by small *toraṇa*-arches. The head-dress and several adornments of the secondary female divinities, *apsaras* and so on, show peculiar features and make both the architectural and plastic study of the Javāri highly interesting.

GHANṬAI

Along the road which cuts through the small village of Khajurāho and a little to the side beyond a turning, the unusual shape of the ruins which loom before us takes us by surprise. We have already grown accustomed to these rather high, slender and pleasing towers which, rising above the trees, are outlined against the sky. But what chance brought to these parts these elegant columns which give the impression of having been constructed to support architraves and flat roofs? Immediately we find ourselves comparing them with the architecture found between the Mediterranean and Iran where the column plays a functional role; it carries, supports and sustains the only thrust produced by the superstructure, the perpendicular one, and is, therefore, the predominant element in the construction of the edifice.

Nor is this comparison illusory. The crumbling remains of the sanctuary tower and of the walls help us to understand what so many experts have pointed out, namely, that buildings in India, whether vaulted or not, retain their equilibrium through the vertical thrust alone and there is no question at all of a lateral one. The system employed here is one of horizontal beams, resting upon the column and the architrave.

Since Cunningham's first visit and the report he made[157] the Ghanṭai temple has become the subject of much controversy. This proves, yet again, how careful archaeologists have to be of their facts which are so often prone to alteration either because they are based on conclusions which are incorrect or too hastly drawn, or because new facts continually come to light. Cunningham inferred at first that Ghanṭai was a Buddhist temple and everything seems to indicate this: the use of granite and sandstone, so often found in Buddhist temples of the period, as well as, close by to it, the colossal statue of Buddha seated and draped; this statue is of the Sārnāth school and has on the socle, the inscription *ye dharma hetu prabhava* in VIth.-VIIth. century characters.[158] Likewise a statue of a four-armed female figure was taken to represent Dharmā, an element of the Buddhist triad.

Five years later, in 1876–77, Cunningham returned with Fergusson[159]. They examined the Jaina statues lying around the temple; of the thirteen figures, eleven belonged to the Digambara sect, and one bore an inscription dated Saṃvat 1142 (A.D. 1085) which stated that it was a Jaina statue of Ādinātha presented by Śrī Bibat Sah and Sethinī Padmāvatī. Their presence as well as their location rectified his original impression and Cunningham came to the conclusion that Ghanṭai was a Jaina temple.

In 1879, V. Smith adopting the opinion of this predecessors, declared it to be a Jaina temple[160]. He examined the remains of the wall-footings, the outer columns of granite which had obviously

been embedded in the wall (fig. 22 a, b, c), and took the measurements of the entire construction. The plan he made is reproduced here together with one of Pārśvanātha, the largest known Jaina temple. The outer wall of the Ghanṭai temple has disappeared but what remains of it proves that the granite pillars were embedded. We can just about see them, three in number, left in the rough, to the right and left of the decorated columns on pl. cxlvi. These granite pillars, inserted and embedded in the wall, were meant to support huge monolithic architraves on which the superstructure rested, and therefore they needed no decoration. On the other hand, the inside columns with their octagonal bases and their circular, carved tops, called for softer material, in this case sandstone; besides, they had only the comparatively light weight of the *maṇḍapa* to support.

It is not necessary at this point to discuss at length the similarities between the plans of the Ghanṭai and the Pārśvanātha temples, for these strike us immediately and we shall do so (cf. p. 148 sq.) when we describe the Pārśvanātha temple in full. It seems better at the moment to examine more carefully the Ghanṭai temple which presents certain characteristics peculiar to it. We have described earlier on p. 100 the method used to cover the square chambers of the *maṇḍapa* and drawn special attention to the richness of their ceilings which look as if they are vaulted. Nothing is left of the extrados of the *maṇḍapa* superstructures of the Ghanṭai temple but the intrados bears a much stronger resemblance to ceilings in the Calukyan style than to those found in Khajurāho. Such is the ceiling of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* (pl. cliii) with a very beautiful *padma* in full bloom and carved in rather high relief in the centre. The depth of the relief can be seen in pl. cl. The moulding around the lotus emblem is practically invisible and we are inclined to think that this was done purposely so as to bring out the central motif. The ornamentation is cut away rather than carved, by the removal of surplus material rather than by chiselling, a procedure, which gives the impression of a rough outline, and was applied intentionally at Khajurāho to relieve these parts, considered to be the least important.

The ceiling of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* (pl. clii) is rather heavier. Here again we have the same idea of a flat surface in which, at the centre, the effect of height is created by a coffered ceiling. The motifs of the ornamentation are the same as in the *mahāmaṇḍapa*, with a border consisting of panels of different sizes but arranged symmetrically. Groups of dancers and musicians playing different instruments, scenes of dancing and music-making, form in Khajurāho the main subject of the little panels along the friezes on the inside and, especially, on the outside of the temples. It is interesting to note that not a single pair of figures is represented in erotic attitudes and this is generally the case in Jaina temples.

It will be seen on nearly all the photographs that there are bracket consoles on the octagonal columns: pl. cxlviii shows them clearly. Each shaft has three brackets placed at the top and at

the bottom and facing in different directions. The total number of twenty-four corresponds exactly to the number of Tīrthaṅkara or Jaina saints, which suggests that each bracket was meant to support the statue of one of them. These columns are wonderfully decorated. Beaded garlands hang out of the mouths of the *kīrtimukha*, sometimes interlacing, sometimes forming half-circles around the niches containing figures of ascetics, *mithuna* or *vidyādhara*. The curved lines of these interlacing designs are intersected by little bells of different shapes hanging from chains which also dangle from the mouths of the *kīrtimukha*. The moulding is in high relief and the little scenes express a pulsating vitality and symbolize the dynamic force of nature.

The door leading into the interior of the temple is typical of the architecture of the time. The horizontal beam or lintel is monolithic and rests on door-jambs which consist of parallel stone bands each decorated in a different way. The lower parts of the door-jambs, as is always the case at Khajurāho, are adorned with figures in a standing position - a traditional form of door decoration in Indian art which can be traced back to the time of the Gupta at least. The door-frame rests on a sort of horizontal step which forms the threshold and is heavily carved and decorated. It is actually a rather high step which acts like a pedestal, thus raising the whole design of the doorway. The lintel decoration is divided into two parts. In the middle, like a key-stone, a niche shelters an eight-armed Jaina goddess, riding on a Garuḍa and carrying different weapons in her hands. It is identified as the 'Sāsana-devatā Nirvāni' of the sixteenth Tīrthaṅkara saint Śānthināthа, whose *upāsaka* is Garuḍa. On both ends of the lintel are two other niches, smaller in size, which house figures of various Tīrthaṅkara. The nine figures along the left half of the lintel seem to represent the Navagraha (the nine planets), but the identity of the eight figures with animal heads on the right-hand section is quite uncertain. On the frieze above the lintel are sixteen symbolic representations which refer to the sixteen dreams of the mother of Mahāvīra. The fact that there are sixteen dreams convinces us that the Ghanṭai temple belonged to the Digambara sect. According to tradition, at the very moment when Lord Mahāvīra descended into her womb, Devanāndā saw fourteen auspicious dreams. And when he was transferred by Hariṇegamesin to Kṣatriyāni Triṣalā's womb, she too saw the same fourteen dreams. Now, according to the Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition each time a Tīrthaṅkara descends from heaven into the womb of his mother, she sees fourteen auspicious dreams. But according to Digambara belief the number of auspicious dreams seen at that moment is sixteen. The fact that the frieze above the lintel depicts sixteen symbolic representations which refer to those auspicious dreams brings us to the conclusion that the Ghanṭai temple belonged to the Digambara sect.

It is not our intention to discuss here the differences between the plan of the Jaina temples of Khajurāho and those of the Vaiṣṇava and the Śaiva. The Pārśvanātha where the walls and the entire superstructure are still standing will offer a better opportunity for this.

ĀDINĀTHA

Neither the name of a Jaina temple nor the particular divinity to which it has been dedicated are ever certain. The cult image if often replaced by that of another divinity which did not figure there originally, or, in the course of time, the name has frequently changed through a simple process of error. The Ādinātha bears the name of the first of the 24 Tīrthaṅkara, saints of the Jaina religion, on account of a modern cult image which has been installed in the sanctuary.

It is situated to the north of the Pārśvanātha, within the same great enclosure which contains all the Jaina temples, ancient as well as modern, with the exception of the Ghanṭai.

It is a small *nirandhāra prāsāda* of which only the *antarāla* and the *garbhagṛha* remain of the former building. The particularly ugly porch with which it has been tricked out is the result of later modifications. The number of modern Jaina monuments in the same enclosure permits the supposition that the Jaina temples have been a centre of activity for at least the last century and the zeal of the faithful has led to their 'improvement' by the donation of the missing elements. One of the results of this is the brick atrocity which has been devised as a porch for the Ādinātha.

The sanctuary is placed upon an unusually high *adhiṣṭhāna* to which it appears to be clinging. Its *śikhara* is one of the most elegant at Khajurāho, and the whole building is one of the most beautifully finished to be seen there. The main body of the sanctum, *bāḍa*, is a *saptaratha* in plan since a seven-fold division corresponds to each façade. In the same way, the *śikhara* ascends in seven *paga*, and continues on the *gaṇḍi* the seven sections of the *bāḍa*, with one detail which is peculiar to this building. In all the *śikhara* so far described, it will have been noticed that the salients of the centre of each façade of the *gaṇḍi (rāhāpaga)* as well as the *koṇaka-paga* go beyond the top of the *gaṇḍi* in each case and are outlined against the blue sky as they curve in towards the depression which forms the *beki*. At the Ādinātha, this movement is accentuated, since they almost reach the first of the two *āmalaka*. The whole of this upper section, *mastaka*, which crowns the *gaṇḍi* is not only well preserved, but also of excellent workmanship. Small denticles surround the *kalaśa* and there is a certain refinement in his appearance. It seems that a similar detail is to be observed on the *kalaśa* of the Caturbhuja or Jatkāri (pl. cxliii).

The absence of *aṅga-śikhara* links the *śikhara* with those of the Vāmana and the Jatkāri, but its proportions make it their superior, as does the elegance which derives from its elongation. The *caitya*-windows are treated here, also, as a lattice, but the execution is infinitely more skilful and the whole is very fine. This is exactly what is required in order to avoid too smooth a surface and to create a moderate interplay of light and shade. By this means the mass of the tower is lightened and the great purity of line is preserved. It must not be forgotten that India is a country of

intense light where an excess of smooth surfaces is blinding. Of this fact the presence in the same enclosure of modern and ancients buildings is an irrefutable proof.

The tapering form of the tower is obtained principally by the continuous line of the projections which lead the eye, without interruption, from the plinth to the finial. It is interesting to follow its course. These salients curve strongly outwards at the lower courses of the base of the tower which clings to the *adhiṣṭhāna*. They continue vertically to the beginning of the *gaṇḍi* and it is only after the demarcation between the *bāḍa* and *gaṇḍi* denoted by strong horizontal mouldings, *baraṇḍa*, that the line of the *śikhara* curves inwards.

The *pābhāga* is very high and the strong mouldings are very little decorated. The large and flat course of masonry which ends the *pābhāga*, corresponds with the floor of the interior chamber and is decorated by small, pillared niches surmounted by *caitya*-arch pediments. These niches, one to each *rāhā*, house *kīrtimukha*, *makara* heads and other decorative motifs. At the same level, on the central projection, *rāhāpaga*, the niche is already of more imposing dimensions, a prelude to two larger ones in the same vertical as it and in the same horizontals as the two rows of sculptures. These main niches house statues of divinities of the Jaina pantheon. The superstructure of the highest goes above the mouldings of the *baraṇḍa* and cuts into the *gaṇḍi* just far enough to carry the eye towards the quite different shape of the tower and to avoid a break in continuity.

There are three rows of sculpture (pl. cliv) and, as in the case of the Javāri, it can be seen that neither their number nor the quality of workmanship depends upon the size of the temple. The third row consists of *vidhyādhara* which are noteworthy for the dynamism of their flight.

Inside the sanctuary and on the lintel of the door which leads to the cella a Jaina goddess with four arms is seated. The frieze of the lintel depicts the sixteen auspicious dreams of the mother of Mahāvīra (pl. xvxliii). The number 16 proves that the Ādinātha, like the Ghanṭai, belonged to the Digambara sect.

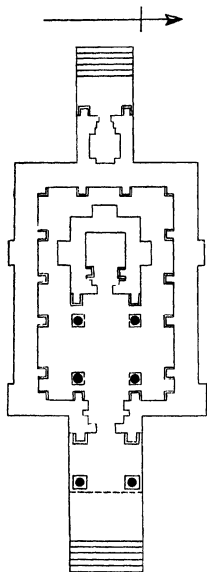



Fig. 21 Pārśvanātha. Its present plan

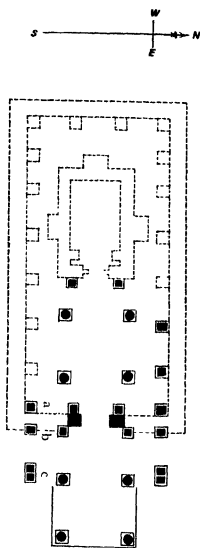



Fig. 22 Ghanṭai. Conjectural plan

PĀRŚVANĀTHA

The name of this temple presents a problem. The divine image of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, which has been preserved *in situ*, was not erected until A.D. 1865. Cunningham maintains that no divine image occupied the temple cella at the time of his first visit.[161]

An ornamental throne in the sanctum with a figure of a bull carved in front of it, proves that the original image must have been that of the first Tīrthaṅkara, Ṛṣabhanātha or Ādinātha, the bull being his symbol, while Pārśvanātha's symbol was the *nāga*. On the lintel of the sanctum, various Jaina figures can be seen seated or standing. They are typical of the rich iconography belonging to the Jaina religion.

Here again Candella epigraphy gives no definite date for the dedication of the temple. Fortunately an inscription of eleven lines, carved in Nāgarī characters, on the left side of the door-jamb at the entrance, offers useful and interesting information. It bears the date V.S. 1011 (A.D. 955)[162] and records and enumerates gifts *(argha)* and endowments of gardens *(vāṭikā)* to the temple by a Jaina devotee named Pāhila. We have already explained at some length (p. 51) how important such an act was to the giver, who, in this inscription, claims to have been 'held in high esteem by King Dhaṅga'.[163] This gives us a definite date, as we know that Dhaṅga reigned between *c.* A.D. 950 and 1008. If, on examination, the letters of this inscription did not strike specialists as belonging to a later period than the other inscriptions of the Xth century the explanation would be – and this happened frequently in Khajurāho – that this record was a copy of an older inscription or even that Pāhila's merits were recorded by his descendents who were members, as he was, of the Grahapati family. The Grahapati, all of them votaries of the Jaina belief, are known to us through several inscriptions, mostly dedicating Jaina statues, later than Dhaṅga's reign.

On the right side of the door-jamb are inscriptions of no real historical value, just pilgrims' records and one of those typically Jaina magic squares which could be read horizontally, vertically and diagonally.

Being exceptionally well preserved, the Pārśvanātha temple enables us to make a detailed comparison, within the confines of Khajurāho, between a Jaina temple and those dedicated to other cults. As we shall see this comparison will be well worth while as it will clearly disprove the statement, so often made by certain scholars, that in this site Jaina temples resemble Brahmanical ones to such a degree that to know one of them is to know them all.

A detailed study of the Pārśvanātha shows, in fact, that there are more dissimilarities than similarities between it and the Brahmanical temples, the explanation for this being the difference

in their forms of worship. On the other hand, the plans in juxtaposition on page 146 represent the two most important surviving Jaina temples and reveal the striking resemblance between them.

Smaller in size than the Brahmanical temples (about 68 ft 2 in. by 34 ft 11 in.), it faces, like them, eastwards. Examination of the plan shows clearly where it differs from a Brahmanical temple. In fact its plan lacks the special characteristics of the style found in Khajurāho. The Jaina temples on the site do not seem to have been based on the *pañcāyatana* or five-shrine temple, especially as no evidences of minor shrines have come down to us. In it too, we do not find the single or double armed Latin cross, with its long axis from north to east, which prevailed up to that time in the important temples of Khajurāho. The *mahāmaṇḍapa*, the *antarāla* and the *garbhagṛha* are in the form of a long rectangle and are surrounded by a plain wall, devoid of recesses and projections. The pillars embedded in the wall (fig. 22) support the entire weight of the superstructure. As in the other buildings, the roof of the *maṇḍapa* rests on four columns. The *pradakṣiṇā-patha* is wide, and perforated windows admit a diffuse light into the sanctum. The *pradakṣiṇā* used to play an important part in the ritual of the two chief Jaina sects.

The entrance, which is much smaller and far less imposing than in some of the Brahmanical temples, consists only of a *maṇḍapa*, one of the architectural masterpieces of the site, the recessed ceiling being decorated with chain and floral patterns which terminate in a pair of flying human figures. The projecting part of the west wall of the building, is in perfect symmetry with the entrance and forms a little shrine which may have been added at a later date.

Despite the very imposing outline of the *śikhara*, the impression made by the building as a whole is one of massive bulk and we miss the striking balconied openings. The architectural treatment follows the principles found in Hindu temples, but, the lay-out being basically different, the elevation of the building inevitably has different appearance too. The elimination of balconied openings and prominent projections changes the external appearance completely, and makes the building somehow monotonous.

To make this point clear, we refer to plate clvi which gives a good idea of the exterior of the temple and compare it with what we have already seen. The first thing that strikes us is the lack of monumentality of the porch. From Cunningham's report[164] we have gathered that when, in 1865, he revisited the site, he was unable to enter the temple which, newly restored, was used for worship. An indication, one of many others which we will not stop to consider here, points to the fact that the porch had also undergone drastic changes. On plate clvi, on a level with the third step, a carved stone block can be seen which has nothing in common with the part above or below it. In order to insert it in the lower part, the entire flight of steps must have been reconstructed. The use of material salvaged from ruined edifices to strengthen or restore others is

common to all periods and civilizations. In plate clviii the top course of the base of the porch shows a similar example, and so does a huge smooth block, built into the horizontal strata under the pyramidal roof. It is quite likely that the original porch was far more imposing and beautiful, conserving his lintel festooned with a cusped archway. But it certainly never had the monumental quality found in even smaller temples, the Vāmana for example. Of this we can be sure, for his *pābhāga* or *pāda-bhāga* is far less important in his elevation than those of the Vāmana (pl. cxxxii) or the Lakṣmaṇa (pl. lxxxii). At the entrance into the porch, the columns with octagonal bases and cylindrical tops give the impression of belonging to a recent period. Each one is surmounted by a bracket capital on which rests the architrave in such a way that from the side we have the impression that each posesses an abacus (pl. clviii). The same pattern which decorates the string-course of the top layer of the base (pl. clvi) ornaments also these architraves. This decoration is cut out and consists of curved lines like unfinished arabesques; the treatment is in harmony with a style so peculiar to the site. Above the protecting roof, between two rows of prominent mouldings, (pl. clviii) and on the same level with the third row of statuary belonging to the main wall is a frieze of standing deities in pillared niches. The pyramidal roof is, as usual, formed by horizontal receding steps up to the crowning and is composed exactly by the same elements as those of the main *śikhara*. The courses of the *pābhāga* are ornamented with prominent mouldings such as we have described elsewhere and which are peculiar to Indian architecture. We must notice that they are much less elaborate than those of the other large temples on the site. It may have been done on purpose so as to bring a greater contrast with the *jaṅghā* of the wall which is so heavily ornamented. The carved decoration of the *pābhāga* consists of flower-shaped ornaments carved in squares, *caitya*-window designs along the edge of an ogee, and interlacing designs ornamenting the string course. Along the entire length of this *pābhāga* there is only one pillared niche. It is in vertical line with the perforated windows and shelters a four-armed female divinity of the Jaina pantheon.

Here we come to the main part of the building, the *jaṅghā*, which obviously lacks the contrasting effects created by the projections, the dark shadowy recesses, the balconied openings, and the interplay of horizontals and verticals, so typical of Khajurāho.

Nevertheless the sculptor tried to relieve this monotony and, we think, succeeded to. He has, in fact, produced one or two works which are masterpieces of Indo-Aryan art, the beautiful pair of gods, for example, in pl. clxxi. Let us examine his methods more carefully. These three rows of sculptures, having no projections, recesses, bay-openings or any architectural interruptions whatever, dominate the entire scheme. With them he created, in the first place, a harmonious rhythm by diminishing their width the higher they get. Then he balanced the static first row with the last one where very dynamic and lively flying figures, alone or in pairs, flourishing

musical instruments or weapons, create an uninterrupted rhythm. Here the hieratic verticallity of the divinities of the first row is gone, the lines flow in spirals, the work is full of vitality and energy and yet very light. This offers a relief necessary to the eye, which travelling upwards, meets the severe and rather stiff horizontal four lines of the mouldings which form the *baraṇḍa.*

Fully aware of the indispensable needs and rules of architectural statuary, the sculptor has made an effort to present the divinities in such a way as to be clearly visible and easily recognizable to the faithful who took part in the circumambulation *(pradakṣiṇā)*, and also to relieve the monotony of the long flat wall. On it he has superimposed, in a clever way, recesses which are part of the architectural decoration and not an indispensable part of the structure. Their backs against panels of smooth stone, and standing on plinths under canopies decorated with *(kīrtimukha)*, the deities bathe in dazzling light. The artist thus accentuates their presence, and by creating bays which shelter leogryphs *(śārdūla)* in between them, he relieves the eye of the viewer. In his treatment of these leogryphs he gives full scope to his imagination for no two of these creatures of fantasy are alike. Perhaps it was only his aesthetic taste which prompted him to counteract the stiff, static and hieratic figures of the deities with tortuous arabesques formed by the heads, bodies and tails of the leogryphs and the small human and animal figures entangled between their legs. Some of these groups form compositions of extreme beauty: for example plate clxxv which represents a leogryph with two warriors, one beneath his paw and one on his back. The three figures, their backs curved in complete harmony of line, are arranged to form a column. The figure of the second warrior is cleverly counterbalanced by the head of the leogryph. Though compactly adjusted to the form of the column, the group radiates movement and life.

When we define the statuary of the first row as static, we do not mean that the figures lack life, realism or beauty. These were the very qualities which pervaded the workmanship in Khajurāho. Let us take as an example, the central divinity to the left of Agni (pl. clxv). Here we find a statue in very high relief: the external lines of the carving are static, the *bhaṅga* is stylised. Yet, the manner in which the figures have been treated, makes it vibrate as though life and movement radiate from inside it, and the face, which expresses profound peace, wears a ghost of smile which, in turn, brings shining light to its heavenly beauty. The little figures at its feet are stiff and wholly unadorned, rather like unfinished sketches, and emphasize, by their insignificance, the richness of the carving, the careful detail and the imposing character of the divine figure.

We would draw attention to two or three more points before bringing to an end our description of this striking and varied gallery of masterpieces. One of these is the almost complete absence of erotic scenes on the walls of the Jaina temples. This absence would have been absolute

were it not that a minute examination of the carvings inserted in the superstructure, among the *aṅga-śikhara* of various shapes reveals one or two such scenes. On plate clx the reader can detect high up in the last row of niches, to the right of an *aṅga-śikhara*, a couple locked together in an undeniably erotic attitude.

We would draw attention, too, in plate clix, to a nude figure of Tīrthaṅkara in a standing position. The statue (of which the carving is of indifferent quality) is inserted in a niche with cylindrical columns, and, above it, another Jaina saint of the same sect in a seated position. We are inclined to believe that the little sanctuary formed by this unusual projection of the west wall of the temple was added later. We come to this conclusion not only by the fact that this addition has not be seen anywhere else on the site and does not link to the whole architectural feature of the temple, but also from other significant indications. First the quality of the plastic work is definitely the achievement of a less accomplished artist. Then the presence of Tīrthaṅkara figures only in that very part, while we do not come across a single one on the whole external surface of the walls, mystifies us.

Long friezes full of realistic illustrations and lively information about the day to day life of the Candella and their subjects are entirely absent from the walls of the Pārśvanātha.

The comparison of the silhouettes of the four *śikhara*, which have been designed by P. Brown (fig. 1, 2, 3, 4), points out, better than any description can, how responsible this part of the architectural structure is for the appearance of relationship so characteristic of the Khajurāho site. The initial impression that all the sanctuaries resemble each other, that they evolve from the same architectural idea, that to know one of them is to know them all, is, as we have tried to explain, a false one. And when we describe the Pārśvanātha as heavy or bulky, we are only contrasting it with the harmoniously diminishing gradations of the roof structures covering different sections of other temples. The graceful grouping together of these roofs in an upward movement to the *śikhara* and the highest pinnacle is not to be found here; one of the best examples of this can be seen in the small nearby temple, the Javāri.

III. THE TEMPLES OF THE SOUTH GROUP

DULĀDEO

Cunningham refers to this temple as 'Kunwār Maṭh'. It is situated south of what we have called the East Group. All the authorities agree that it is one of the most beautiful temples on the site. Although it is smaller in size (the exterior measurements are 66 ft by 33 ft) than the lare temples in the West Group, it equals these in the elegance of its form and the quality of its decoration.

It is dedicated to Śiva and its identification presents no problem whatever. In the sanctuary the original statue of the god has been replaced by a *liṅga* and, on the door lintel, Śiva is enthroned between Brahmā and Viṣṇu.

There is not one inscription or mason-mark to hint at the date of construction, except the word *vasala* carved on several blocks. This word is also to be found on the shapeless ruins of Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva[165] which, like the Dulādeo, is situated near the north bank of the Khudār Nalā. Perhaps it is the name of the chief sculptor of that temple.

The Dulādeo is a *nirandhāra prāsāda* where, in addition to the *garbhagṛha*, the *antarāla*, the *mahāmaṇḍapa*, the *ardhamaṇḍapa* and the *maṇḍapa* have been preserved.

In the group of *nirandhāra prāsāda* temples on the site (Devī Jagadambā, Citragupta, Javāri, Ādinātha, Vāmana, Dulādeo and Jatkāri) four have *śikhara* with *aṅga-śikhara*: the Devī Jagadambā, the Citragupta, the Javāri and the Dulādeo. The *śikhara* of the last named is by far the least bulky and the most slender and elegant, and this is due solely to the number, form and distribution of the *aṅga-śikhara* on the *gaṇḍi*.

The three *rāhāpaga*, being continuation of the central niches of each façade, are formed by superimposed *aṅga-śikhara* and run along the *gaṇḍi* up to the summit of the *śikhara*. The result is that just one line brings the eye from the base to the finial.

A comparison of the silhouettes of the *śikhara* (pl. cxxxiii and pl. xxxv), the number and placing of the *aṅga-śikhara*, shows how, starting off with the one architectural element, an artist was able to achieve more or less satisfactory results. In the Dulādeo the *aṅga-śikhara* are taller and more tapering and overlap one another so as to avoid breaking the line which terminates at the summit. The architect has made use of an additional artifice to attain this refinement: he has formed into one bundle, so to speak, the three important side ribs so that they, too, converge towards the summit of the *śikhara*. These fill in the hollow between the central salients which rise from the three façades of the tower and are also capped by little *aṅga-śikhara*.

A study of the methods employed by the architect of the Dulādeo and the happy result of their application proves the truth of the opinion, so often held, that Khajurāho must be the

culminating point of Indian architecture in the Middle ages. A comparison of the *śikhara* of the Dulādeo with that of the Goṇḍeśvara at Sinnar[166] is conclusive proof of this opinion. The architectural system of joining the ribs into one is also found in the Goṇḍeśvara but the effect in this case is lifeless.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the *śikhara* of the Dulādeo was still in a very damaged state but the nature of this damage was highly curious; on the south front, a part of the structure had been detached in the way a slice is taken out of a melon. This made it possible for archaeologists to study the inside structure of the tower and to verify that the *āmalaka* never played the part of a keystone as it was not incorporated in the structure of the tower but was simply an ornament. This explains why the crumbling of the *āmalaka* does not necessarily cause the whole *śikhara* to collapse.

Not one of the *kalaśa* or the *stūpika* surmounting the various *aṅga-śikhara* have been preserved and the entire superstructures of the *maṇḍapa* are still in bad condition, in spite of the very extensive work of restoration.

In 1878 and up to the beginning of this century, even the central part of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* was in a state of ruin (pl. cxxxviii) and it was this which made it possible for Havell to leave us an interesting document[167] showing the abundant vegetation which had overgrown the interior of the temple.

The *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the Dulādeo and that of the Mātaṅgeśvara are the only ones in Khajurāho where the roofs have not a single column to support them. The ceiling of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* is basically an octagon on which rests a circular dome and not a square converted into an octagon. In plate cxxxix the junction of the circle with the octagon can clearly be seen. We shall not stop to discuss the richness, variety and quality of the decoration of the octagonal part of the ceiling. We would like, however, to draw attention to the smooth string-course half way up this part which is covered with lively scenes - a procession of elephants, horsemen, soldiers armed with swords and shields, sometimes in combat, all the figures lively and animated. The dome is made up of overlapping circles which become smaller and smaller 'recalling stones thrown into a pool' as P. Brown describes it (pl. cxxxviii). Each circle consists of a smooth moulding with the vitruvian scroll design carved on it. The decoration on these circles is made up entirely of curvilinear lines in contrast to that on the lower part of the octagon where the artist has rather cunningly introduced geometrical designs made up of right-angled zig-zag and check patterns. The columns are furnished with interesting capitals. On each of the four sides is carved the bust of a *yakṣa* frozen in flight (see plates cxxxiv and cxxxix). The angle of the foot, which, as can be seen, is turned downwards and the forward thrust of the body is so well done that the artist's intention is perfectly clear: they are not Atlantes but flying figures. Two arms are raised in an

effort to rise above the base of the capital while the other two support, like Atlantes, the top part of the capital which is surrounded by a guarland of 'cleft pearls'. This decoration can also be seen higher up on the octagonal part of the ceiling. But the outstanding artistic achievement of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* decoration lies in the superb *śālabhañjikā* in full round carving; here they do not serve only as a decoration, but play a functional role, a part of the architectural conception and form the junction of the part from which the octagon springs to the beginning of the circle, so that the corners will not be left empty.

It would be difficult to find anything to surpass these female silhouettes which are represented clinging symbolically to a tree, making music or tripping a dance. Their treatment shows no sign of heaviness or lifelessness. They are sculptures of Mediaeval India and are far from being mechanical reproductions of those of an earlier epoch - a fault so often charged to the work of this period.

From the outside the architectural structure does not differ from the large temples and retains more or less the same proportions. The *jaṅghā* is decorated with three rows of sculpture (pl. cxxxv); the *surasundarī* are moulded with the same grace and elegance as those we have just admired in the *śālabhañjikā* of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*. Yet the plastic work and the way dresses, girdles, crowns and jewelry are treated, differ from those of the other temples and become fluid. It looks as though another fashion prevailed for their head-dress, some of their crowns (pl. cxxxv) being of a peculiar shape, unusual in the prevalent style of Khajurāho's women head ornamentation. The *vidyādhara* of the top row catch the eye through the rhythm and dynamism of the movements. A profusion of small animated scenes taken from everyday life (pl. cxxxvii and coloured plate) are arranged on the flat string-courses of the lower layers and have preserved for us the activity and vitality which pervaded the age of the Candella.

CATURBHUJA OR JATKĀRI

On leaving the Dulādeo, we make our way southwards along a path suitable only for bullock-carts. This path cuts through the jungle which has overgrown the place. On either side, the shapeless temple ruins are hidden by the vegetation. Doggedly we pursue our way along this track which is impossible to follow in the monsoon season, and eventually we come upon one of the many lakes dotted over India. We follow the lake, taking care to keep it on our right. Beyond a turning, the Caturbhuja comes into view from the same angle as on plate cxli. This temple is situated near the village of Jatkāri and bears its name.

Contrary to the usual rule, it faces west. There is no doubt whatever as to its dedication. A colossal statue of Viṣṇu, about nine feet in height, is installed in the sanctum. Viṣṇu is also represented between Brahmā and Śiva on the lintel.

The Caturbhuja is a *nirandhāra prāsāda* which consists of a *garbhagṛha*, a *mahāmaṇḍapa* and an *ardhamaṇḍapa* of reduced dimensions. We can hardly talk about an *antarāla*, for this is here, despite its separate superstructure, little more than an architectural element. Before describing the temple we must point out that it has undergone large scale restorations and some parts look as to have been reconstructed. Proof of this can be found in the first reports on the ruins of the site[168], and is confirmed by the present conservators and by the external appearance of the temple; a glance at plate cxlii will be enough to convince the reader.

If we compare the plan (fig. 23) with fig. 12, a striking difference will be noticed. In the Devī Jagadambā the outside wall projections of the *garbhagṛha* – although without balconies – form a cross, while this temple is a simple rectangle, three sides of which bulge out to form curves. The *mahāmaṇḍapa* has nothing extraordinary about it, except a beautiful circular ceiling inscribed within an octagon. The circles are cusped and become smaller towards the centre; they are exquisitely decorated. The beauty and quality of this decoration and of the Viṣṇu statue are sufficient to prove us that great care was devoted to this temple.

The *śikhara* is devoid of *aṅga-śikhara* and must have been covered by a latticed *caitya*-window design. The dark parts on plate cxlii show how high the decorated old courses of the *śikhara* reached. The whole of the top part which is of a lighter colour and without decoration, belongs to a restoration. The large *āmalaka* and the *kalaśa* have also suffered from the collapse occasioned by the crumbling of the *śikhara*. The absence of *aṅga-śikhara* in the *śikhara*, links it to two other edifices on the site, the Vāmana and the Ādinātha.

The *mahāmaṇḍapa* has survived in a less damaged state. The finial has disappeared, but the roofing still consists of the original courses. The fact that its beautiful ceiling has come down to

us intact, proves that this part of the edifice has been well preserved. It is true that the figures in the niches have disappeared (pl. cxlii) but this is due chiefly to successive plundering raids. A comparison of plates cxlii and cxliii will reveal that, of the columns and capitals in the *mahāmaṇḍapa*, only those near the *garbhagṛha* have been replaced by more recent ones. The others belong to the original construction.

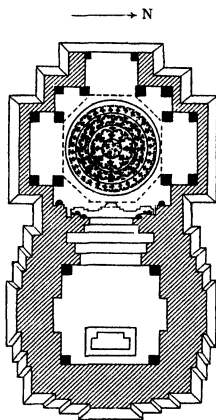



Fig. 23 Caturbhuja. Ground plan and the projection of the *mahāmṇḍaapa* ceiling

The outside decoration is in three rows (plate cxliv) and harmonises with the architectural style already described. As in most of the temples of Khajurāho, the third row, a narrower one, is made up of *vidyādhara*, *apsaras* and other heavenly creatures. At the background of plate cxliii we can see how this row abruptly ends at the square projection of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*. The *ratha* of the *jaṅghā* is extremely prominent (pl. cxlii) in each side, and comprises two niches corresponding to the first two rows, which house important statues of divinities in very high relief. They are sheltered under a jutting-out protecting roof. On the lower row of the north front, Viṣṇu is seated, equipped with all his symbolic attributes and, above him, is a lion-

headed goddess who could be the female counterpart of Narasiṁha, an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The central row on the east front has a four-armed figure of Śiva mounted on his bull, holding a *triśūla* and a *nāga*. The niche below this one shelters a statue of Sūrya seated in a chariot, the seven horses of which are represented on the pedestal. Plate cxliv shows in detail the niches on the south front. The one in the first row contains a badly mutilated figure of a god, and at the moment it would be daring on our part to attempt to identify it. Above this, Śiva is seated, in his androgynous form. This deity is the oriental counterpart of the ancient Greek deity Hermaphrodite and combines in himself male and female characteristics.

Banerjea in his *Development of Hindu Iconography* gives us the best explanation about Ardhanārīśvaramūrti. According to him the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva does not illustrate any particular mythology. It characterizes the idea of cult syncretism in a very interesting manner. In this aspect of Śiva, the left half is Umā and the right that of the god himself. He then gives us in page 553 the story of the Ṛṣi Bhṛṅgī who refused to worship Pārvatī and 'how Śiva united his body with her in order that Bhṛṅgī would be compelled to pay homage to the goddess while paying his respects to him'.

We have drawn attention to the quality of the decoration and the ornamental sculpture of the temple. The lower part of the frame around the door leading into the sanctuary (pl. cxlv) is an example. It is not likely that these deities were coated with *sūdhāśilā* or any other kind of plaster. They are wonderfully finished to a glossy luster and we find it difficult to believe that the artist would have taken such pains with his work if he knew that all the intricate details would disappear under a coating of plaster. A comparison between them and several of the statues on the outside of the temple, as shown for instance in plates xix, cv, etc., is enough to convince us of this. We must point out, too, that all the images worshipped in the *garbhagṛha* of the various temples are highly polished.

The enormous statue of Viṣṇu, standing in the darkness, leaves only just enough space for the offerings. The four-armed god wears a crown and is covered with jewels and ornaments. The quality and refinement of the whole is of a very high standard. The two lower hands are broken, and, of the other two, the right one is in *abhaya-mudrā* with a circular mark on the palm and the left one holds a lotus branch and a sacred book.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

NOTES

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GLOSSARY

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DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

i. CAUNṢAṬ YOGINĪ or temple dedicated to the 'sixty-four female goblins'. The interior of the courtyard of cells. Thirteen cells, the superstructures of which are in a state of ruin, form the north-east corner. The masonry in large granite blocks is different from that of the other temples. In the background, the outline of the Kaṇḍāriya Mahādeva.

ii. CAUNṢAṬ YOGINĪ. View of the inner face of the south-east wall and of the 11 cells looking towards the court-yard entrance. After the reconstruction each of the long walls included 22 cells. All the door-jambs, frames and lintels of the doors were cut from large, monolithic blocks.

iii. CAUNṢAṬ YOGINĪ. The south-east side. The outside of the rectangle of cells. In the centre, the sixty-fifth cell, larger than the others. In the foreground, a heap of large stone blocks which may have belonged to the platform built to level the rock on which the temple was built. It is interesting to note that even in its present state and despite its simplicity, the outer face of this wall, shows more studied elegance than the inner face (plates i and ii). It is decorated with mouldings and a blunted conical element. Attention has already been drawn to the passage beside the large cell (clearly visible here) which provides a way out without having to walk round the edifice.

iv. LĀLGUĀN MAHĀDEVA. Main façade on the west. The statue of Nandin, here seen from the back, faces the entrance to the temple. The superstructure is in a bad state of preservation and the stone blocks are placed in a haphazard way.

v. LĀLGUĀN MAHĀDEVA. View from the south side. In the background and to the left, the edge of the wood and, lower down, the fields which have replaced the Lālguān Sāgar.

vi. View taken from the park laid out around the temples of the West Group. In the background, on a common platform, can be seen, on the left the imposing silhouette of the Kaṇḍāriya, in the centre the small *maṇḍapa* of the Mahādeva, and on the right the Devī Jagadambā.

vii. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. In the background, to the left, rising above the trees, is the superstructure of the Kaṇḍāriya. The thrust of this building heavenwards, its balance and beauty of

line and form, contrast with the much heavier superstructure of the Devī Jagadambā which can be seen on the right. In the foreground, on the right, the balcony and the protecting roof are those of the west front of the Lakṣmaṇa.

viii. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. View taken from the north-east of the great *adhiṣṭāna* on which the two temples stand, together with the small *maṇḍapa* of the Mahādeva. The diversity of these sanctuaries, despite their apparent similarities, has already been stressed frequency. This picture demonstrates this fact in a most striking manner. Compare the two *mahāmaṇḍapa*: the same architectural principles, the same artistic canons, the same purpose have been pursued. But the elegance of line, the curvature of the mouldings, the up-thrust of the structure to the crowning elements of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the Kaṇḍāriya cannot be compared with the effect of piling-up which is given by the superstructure of that of the Devī Jagadambā. In all cases, an extraordinary sensation of grandeur and majesty emerges from the totality.
The Archaeological Department of India very wisely employs blocks which can easily be distinguished in the course of its restoration work. But there have been numerous earlier reconstructions which mislead and which cannot always be easily detected.

ix. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. South façade. The middle register near the balcony of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*. As is usual in Northern sculpture, Śiva is represented with a *triśūla* and a *nāga* in his upper hands. His head-dress (*jaṭā-mukuṭa*) is characteristic of Central India; conical in shape, the hair tightly gathered together, it symbolizes the Ganges flowing from his head. At his feet, the bull Nandin, his mount. On his right is a *surasundarī* who is hiding her face, and on his left a goddess holding a bowl in her right hand, while her left hand is raised in *triśūla-hasta*. There are numerous female figures who from their attributes or their gestures are clearly of divine status although it is still not possible to identify them.

x. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. Detail of the preceding *surasundarī*. The lower part of the body is very flat and its treatment is less satisfactory than that of the head.

xi. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. Bust of a *surasundarī*. Detail of plate xx.

xii. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. East side of the south balcony of the *garbhagṛha*. The three rows of statuary and the entire ornamentation of the balcony are in a perfect state of preservation.

xiii. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. South side. Niches along the base of the superstructure of the

maṇḍapa. They house *mithuna* and a four-armed deity. On the niche roof is this highly stylised and deeply carved decoration which is the culmination of a combination of *caitya*-window motifs.

xiv. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. South front of the superstructure of the *ardhamaṇḍapa*. It is amusing to note how high up the artist must have climbed to place tiny scenes and pairs of figures. The architectural decoration is deeply cut in such a way as to create effects of light and shadow, which bring out the architectural forms, render the details clearly visible and lighten the general effect. The *āmalaka*, the *kalaśa* and the *stūpika* are in excellent condition.

xv. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. South front. The entrance to the temple, formed by the *ardha-maṇḍapa* and the *maṇḍapa*, at the level of their balcony and their superstructure. In the foreground and to the left, stand the first statues of the third row of statuary. The elephant placed on the protecting roof is outlined against the sky. The excellent state of preservation of this temple enables us to reach certain conclusions concerning the style and methods of building used on the site.

xvi. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. This plate illustrates, perhaps better than a written description could, the sense of power which emanates from this type of architecture. It shows the happy distribution of the *aṅga-śikhara*, their variety of form and the rhythmic curves of their rounded bases which harmonize with the semicircular and bulbous shape of their double *āmalaka-śila* and their *kalaśa*. The bulk of the building is covered with niches more rigid in form, which constitute part of the *antarāla* superstructure and effect a transition between the other parts of the superstructure. However, it must be realized that not one of the other *śikhara* in Khajurāho can be compared with that of the Kaṇḍāriya, even though the same architectural methods have been applied in all of them. For this reason it is not too much to say that this temple is the final achievement in architectural skill and refinement on the site.

xvii. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. South wall. Uppermost register near to the *garbhagṛha*. Śiva's symbols here are different from those carried by the god in plate ix. Instead of a serpent, he holds a *padma* and Nandin is replaced by a *gaṇa*. The lower left hand is in a well-known position which appears often in Hindu images. The brahmanical sacred thread *(yajñopaītva)* is very flat, as are all the ornaments worn by the god.

xviii. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. Detail of the preceding plate. The ornaments here are beaded and a very beautiful tassel, part of the hair decoration, hangs down the nape of the neck.

xix. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. The parapet and the protecting roof which can be seen in the background are those of the west balcony of the *garbhagṛha.*

xx. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. The *surasundarī* on the left side of the deity in plate xvii. It is possible that the objects she is holding in her hands, which are difficult to identify, are a leaf and a quill-pen.

xxi. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. South front. The two upper registers decorating that part of the building in the deepest re-entrant between the two balconies.

xxii. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. The two lower registers of the same south wall taken at an angle so as to show the return of this wall towards the *mahāmaṇḍapa.* Śiva is represented on several occasions, as well as a large number of female deities.

xxiii. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. A group of three erotic scenes on the south wall. With these in mind, Dr. H. Goetz writes in a recent article: 'On the walls of the Kaṇḍāriya Mahādeva those groups are three, one above the other and it is tempting to see in them Dhaṅga, Gaṇḍa and Vidyādhara at the moment of their identification with Śiva and Śakti; perhaps it is not unimportant to observe that the lower most represents an elderly, the middle a middle-aged, that on top a young man, i.e. the three stages of life of these three rulers at the time that the sculptures were executed.'[169] We, however, would be more inclined to identify these scenes with those on the north front; for it is there, in the top register that we find a bearded man who could be described as advanced in years (pl. xxv and xix).

xxiv. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. North front, the two lower rows. Erotic scenes involving four figures are to be found on the *antarāla* walls of the three large temples (Kaṇḍāriya, Viśvanātha and Lakṣmaṇa). The attitudes in the scene in the first row have been repeated on the north front of the Viśvanātha.

xxv. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. North front, the two upper rows of sculpture.

xxvi. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. North front, the centre row. Sculptures near the east side of the north balcony of the *garbhagṛha.* On Śiva's right is a female deity holding a club *(vajra)* and on his left a *surasundarī.* Unhampered by the hieratism which belongs to the gods alone, these female forms strike a gay and lively note. Each one of them is a lightening sketch of a typically

feminine occupation. They dress and titivate themselves, paint their faces, look surprised or shy or coquettish; all these moods and actions give the artist an excuse to let them twist and turn their bodies in movements full of grace and beauty. By exploiting to the full the curved and undulating lines of their bodies he creates the most satisfactory and pleasing effects. In a word, he has succeeded in relieving the monotony and stiffness which inevitably belong to rows of static statues and has brought to these walls a lively rhythm, a true symphony of movement and action.

xxvii. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. North front, uppermost row. Sculptures near to the west side of the north balcony of the *mahāmaṇḍapa.*

xxviii. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. Detail of the preceding view. Śiva easily recognizable from the bull, his mount, and from his head-dress *(jaṭā-mukuṭa)* is holding the *vajra* in his upper left hand.

xxix. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. The same view as on plate xxv but taken from a different angle.

xxx. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. Detail of the preceding plate. A damaged Śiva and a back-view of a beautiful *surasundarī.* Here again we can see the striking contrast between the treatment of jewelry and drapery.

xxxi. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. The same bust of Śiva.

xxxii. KAṆḌĀRIYA MAHĀDEVA. Detail of the *sursundarī* on plate xxx.

xxxiii. MAHĀDEVA. The *maṇḍapa* is the only surviving part of a temple dedicated to Śiva. View of the south front taken from the platform on which three temples stand. In the background, the Devī Jagadambā can be seen.

xxxiv. MAHĀDEVA. Part view of the group of the lion and the man under the temple porch. Three-dimensional composition are not in the majority in Khajurāho. This statue is treated entirely in curved lines and is inscribed within a triangle. The rounded bulk is extremely well-balanced and, combined with incurved parallel lines, produces stability, harmony and unity in the group. In the hand-to-hand struggle between man and monster, the overpowering size of the latter does not for one moment reduce the man to insignificance. Of the two, it is the lion – albeit soberly - which is treated in a decorative style. The simple lines of the male figure

stripped of all ornamental trappings, add to the sense of power which emanates from his body.

XXXV. DEVĪ JAGADAMBĀ. South side of the sanctuary. The whole of the *śikhara*, the *antarāla* and a part of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*. To the right, in the foreground, the rest of the edifice stands out against the superstructure of the Mahādeva. The light parts of the *śikhara* and the smooth surfaced *aṅga-śikhara* are the result of conservation work.

XXXVI. COPRĀ TANK. A small square tank with a pavillion in the centre, taken from the first steps at ground level. The whole construction is in a very dilapidated state. Despite this however, we can still see the remains of the *ghāṭ* right in the background near the water-level which led to the tank so as to allow ritual bathing.

XXXVII. VIŚVANĀTHA and PĀRVATĪ. View taken from the north balcony of the Lakṣmaṇa. In the centre background, the Viśvanātha and the small temple to the south-east can be seen. To the left is the Pārvatī, and to the right, between the protecting roof and the parapet of the balcony, a temple of very recent construction.

XXXVIII. VIŚVANĀTHA. The south flight of steps leading to the platform on which the entire *pañcāyatana* rests, as well as the Nandin temple. On each side of the steps are very beautiful full-round statues of elephants, mutilated and without their trappings. A careful examination suggests that they did not belong here originally. At the far end on the left, near the tree, is the small north-east sanctuary, of recent construction.

XXXIX. VIŚVANĀTHA. View from the balcony of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* showing the parapet, the two columns on the west front, the superstructure, and, to the left, the two upper rows of sculptures which decorate the wall which runs from the balcony, along the *antarāla*, to join the balcony of the *garbhagṛha*. In this photograph we can easily see the abacuses, and how the architrave which supports the protecting roof rests on the capital.

XL. VIŚVANĀTHA. The same location as the preceeding one, taken from the balcony of the *garbhagṛha*. It shows the frieze of *kīrtimukha* under the balcony parapet and, beneath it, in the centre, the heads of two *apsaras* belonging to the first row of sculptures. An addorsed Śiva, front view, can be seen on one of the projections.

XLI. VIŚVANĀTHA. This view shows the same part of the wall as the preceding one, but here we

can see more clearly the level of the first and second rows of sculptures in relation to the balcony. One of the two string-courses is decorated with small human figures which, despite the fact that they are so alike, are full of life and action.

xlii. VIŚVANĀTHA. Detail of the preceding plate showing the two *apsaras* on the first row of sculptures and near to the balcony. Very striking is the way these lively female figures are detached from the wall on which they are fixed, as in the case of this *apsaras* busy twisting her hair. She seems to be standing quite independently on a socle, her movements free and untrammeled. It is possible that the contorted position of her body is a technical trick of the artist to make her appear more free and true to life.

xliii. VIŚVANĀTHA. The south front, top row. The erotic scene is in the usual place – on the re-entrant of the wall which corresponds to the *antarāla*. Two goddesses can also be seen.

xliv. VIŚVANĀTHA. South front. The severe expression on the face of this female figure as well as her hieratic pose suggest that she is a divinity rather than an *apsaras* or a *surasundarī*.

xlv. VIŚVANĀTHA. South front, centre row. To the right, in the foreground, a four-armed statue of Śiva with a goddess on his left. In her right hand she is holding an instrument which is difficult to define. It looks rather like a stalk branching into three at the bottom, terminating in buds or ears of corn. It may be a symbolic emblem. In any case it occurs more than once in the hands of a divinity at Khajurāho.

xlvi. VIŚVANĀTHA. South front. The upper part of the erotic scene in the middle row of sculptures. The passion behind the embrace of the *mithuna* is expressed in the way the two bodies are entwined *(bandha)* and in the sensual and deeply absorbed look on their faces. In an attitude of what one might call modesty (which we come across again and again) the confidantes *(sakhī)* cover their faces.

xlvii. VIŚVANĀTHA. South front, middle row. Between the erotic scene of the preceding plate and a four-armed Śiva is a *surasundarī*. Radiant with youth and beauty and sure of her charm, she is lost in the contemplation of her own reflection in a mirror which she holds very close to her face. In vain do we examine the *bhaṅga* for one stiff line. Her body is soft and flexible, her flesh quivering with life and her manner languid and full of abandon.

xlviii. VIŚVANATHĀ. The south wall with one of the most beautiful female figures on the site. This *surasundarī* is probably removing a thorn from her foot. Contrary to the custom of using these beautiful statues to embellish the projection, this particular one is situated in a re-entrant. There is nothing exaggerated in her attitude and nothing stiff about her. Her proportions are carefully drawn and in harmony with the perspective and the angle from which she is seen. This statue, in an excellent state of preservation, is an example of the care the artist took to perfect the smallest detail: the waves and the ornaments in her hair, for instance.

xlix–l. VIŚVANĀTHA. Two details of the preceding *surasundarī* figure.

li. VIŚVANĀTHA. South front. The third row of sculptures between the balcony of the *mahā-maṇḍapa* and that of the *maṇḍapa* (the dark part at the bottom and on the right side of the photograph). Above we can see the beginning of the superstructure of the *maṇḍapa.*

lii. VIŚVANĀTHA. Detail of the preceding plate, showing a four-armed Śiva. The arm which used to hold the *nāga* has disappeared. Most often on the bas-reliefs of Khajurāho, Śiva is represented holding in his lower left hand a water vessel *(kalaśa)* while the lower right hand is extended in a protective gesture *(abhaya.)* Here he stands between two goddesses who, majestic and hieratic in their bearing, form a worthy and satisfactory setting for the god.

liii. VIŚVANĀTHA. South front. The sculptures near the east side of the balcony of the *mahā-maṇḍapa.* To the right, in the background, is the parapet of the *maṇḍapa.* Śiva, with all his attributes, and two goddesses can be seen.

liv. VIŚVANĀTHA. North front. The central tableau of the top row. The scene is carved within a square. The figures, chiefly female ones, are static and, despite the fact that they are naked, wear the usual jewelry. The artist has tried to relieve the monotony of these three heads, which are on the same level, by designing a different hair-style for each one.

lv. VIŚVANĀTHA. The north balcony of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* on the west front. It is interesting to compare the decoration of these columns, which ceases at the level of the parapet, with those, for example, in plate cviii, which, though they resemble them, are not quite the same.

lvi. VIŚVANĀTHA. North front. Part of the two top rows of sculpture running towards the balcony of the *garbhagṛha.*

lvii. VIŚVANĀTHA. North front, the two lower rows of sculptures. The erotic scene in the middle of the first row is replaced in the Viśvanātha only, by a divine triad, Śiva accompanied by two female deities. In his article mentioned above, Dr. H. Goetz gives his interpretation of these scenes and comments on them as follows: 'On the walls of the Viśvanātha however, the lower group has been replaced by an image of Śiva-Brahmā; in other words, Dhaṅga had died in the meantime and was therefore represented as the god with whom he had now become united for ever'.[170]

lviii. VIŚVANĀTHA. The south wall. The first row of sculptures between the two balconies. The *surasundarī*, occupied in applying *koḥl* to her eyelids, is turned towards the central group. This illustration was taken in such a way as to show how high the relief is; these figures are practically full-round. Most frequently their gestures are quite individual and their occupations have nothing to do with their surroundings.

lix. VIŚVANĀTHA. North side. A fragment of the decoration above the balcony shown on plate lv. Small animated figures, erotic couples, detached statues – all the characteristic elements of the architectural decoration of this site can be found here.

lx. VIŚVANĀTHA. North front. Part of the top row near the west side of the north balcony of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*. Probably a four-armed representation of Śiva, but the only indication of this is the Nandin at his feet. On his left a divinity with a child in her arms. We will encounter this mother-goddess figure again later (plate clxxii) on the south front of a Jaina temple.

lxi. VIŚVANĀTHA. The north wall. The centre row between the two balconies. Perhaps a female deity wearing a *mukuṭa*. To the right in the recess, a *śārdūla* holding in its front paws an object difficult to identify and at its feet an elephant.

lxii. VIŚVANĀTHA. Detail of the preceding plate.

lxiii. VIŚVANĀTHA. *Surasundarī* situated on the north wall of the temple and to the right of the middle scene on the second row of sculptures; the figure faces the balcony of the *garbhagṛha*. She turns away in the manner already seen in plate xlviii. The extreme slimness of the figure is typical of the style of this period and the site. Once again we are struck by the charm of the finely chiselled face and its vivacious expression. The hair, elaborately styled, is rich with jewels. Despite the efforts of the Archaeological Department of India, the stone-work on the north fronts of these temples has suffered badly from the effects of the weather.

lxiv. VIŚVANĀTHA. Detail of the preceding illustration.

lxv. VIŚVANĀTHA. This *surasundarī* forms a pair with the one shown in the preceding photograph and stands on the other side of the central scene on the second row of sculptures. She is facing the north balcony of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*. She seems to be playing a cymbal if the identification of the objects in her hands is correct. Her hair-style, the shape of her ear-rings and bracelets resemble those of the preceding figure.

lxvi. VIŚVANĀTHA. Detail of the preceding plate.

xvii. VIŚVANĀTHA. North front, centre row running towards the north balcony of the *garbhagṛha*. A four-armed Śiva whose upper right hand is missing. On his left side, the lower hand holds a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* and the upper one a *nāga* which looks as if it is rising out of the vase. In this illustration we can easily distinguish details of the god's hair which is arranged in a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*.

lxviii. VIŚVANĀTHA. Detail of the plinth, facing north. A couple of deities housed in a niche.

lxix. VIŚVANĀTHA. The north-east corner facing east. A part of the *maṇḍapa* base with its elaborate mouldings. The base of the large temples of the West Group are very similar, as can be seen by comparing this photograph with the drawing on fig. 16 which is a tracing of the mouldings with the elaborate base of the Lakṣmaṇa sketched in. This plate shows a long frieze, a rather rambling chain of all the animated subjects of the site - elephants, horsemen, warriors, musicians and dancers; an erotic scene is even sandwiched in between though it is difficult to see what connection it has with the rest.

lxx. VIŚVANĀTHA. Erotic scene, sheltered by a niche, which is situated at the base of the temple under the sloping balustrade of a balcony on the south front.

lxxi. VIŚVANĀTHA. South front. A niche and part of the *maṇḍapa* balcony. It is interesting to note how the architectural elements are utilized to create recesses and reliefs so as to prevent the surfaces from appearing too flat. As decoration, wavy lines are used in four different ways. The lines of the design are invariably cut perpendicularly into the stone with a very sharp instrument, so that the finished product is flat and without relief. This method admits of a very pleasing alternation of light and shade. The celestial couple in this niche is too dilapidated for identification.

lxxii. VIŚVANĀTHA. The large niche in the centre of the preceding plate.

lxxiii. NANDIN. The Nandin faces west and stands on the same platform as the Viśvanātha. To the left, in the foreground, the south side of the *maṇḍapa* and the *ardhamaṇḍapa* can be seen. The elephants, on the protecting roof of the *maṇḍapa* and outlined against the sky, form a characteristic feature.

lxxiv. NANDIN. The main front of the sanctuary faces the entrance into the Viśvanātha. The photograph shows the silhouette of the enormous statue of Nandin, vehicle of Śiva, taken against the light.

lxxv. PĀRVATĪ. The small temple consists only of a *śikhara* which faces east. The photograph has been taken from the south-east. It stands on a separate platform near the south-west corner of the platform of the Viśvanātha.

lxxvi. VIŚVANĀTHA. The only remaining ancient minor sanctuary of the *pañcāyatana* complex. It faces east and stands on the south-west corner of the platform. It must have undergone drastic alterations at a later period.

lxxvii. LAKṢMAṆA. The silhouette of the temple on its platform, taken from east to west, with the three of the four minor sanctuaries. This photograph shows the protecting roof and one column belonging to the north balcony on the extreme right.

lxxviii. LAKṢMAṆA. View of the group on its platform with the auxiliary chapels on the north-east and south-east facing one another. The restoration of the staircase of the platform, the flanking niches and the parapet can be seen. Despite the steeper angle of the roof of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*, the general effect is the same as that of the Kaṇḍāriya Mahādeva.

lxxix. LAKṢMAṆA. A study of the imposing and beautiful entrance to the building. Note in the interior the level on which the columns stand. The particularly attractive *makara-toraṇa* has two niches. Above the entrance a four-armed Viṣṇu is sheltered in a niche. We must draw attention to the summits of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* and the *maṇḍapa*. The very bulbous *āmalaka-śila* is placed on a bell-shaped and ribbed element, the *khapūrī*. As for the main *āmalaka-śila*, the larger of the two crowning the *śikhara*, it is peculiar in that, that it is encircled by a ring. This peculiarity is also met with in the *āmalaka-śila* of tenth-century temples in Gujarāt.[171]

lxxx. LAKṢMAṆA. Detail of plate lxxix.

lxxxi. LAKṢMAṆA. The superstructure of the south side of the *maṇḍapa* taken from the balcony of the *mahāmaṇḍapa.* An examination of this photograph shows some of the fundamentals of the architectural decoration used again and again at Khajurāho. Lower down, to the left, a small panel depicting dancing scenes is surmounted by *caitya*-windows and panelled semi-*caitya*-windows. Higher up is another panel with two semi-*kīrtimukha* designs. To the right is a pillared niche which shelters Agni. Between the two top niches is a *khapūrī* surmounted by an *āmalaka* and numerous deeply recessed mouldings.

lxxxii. LAKṢMAṆA. South front. The part of the building between the first mouldings on its high base *(pāda-bhāga)* and the beginning of the superstructure. We have described in detail on page 122 the horizontal divisions and the mouldings. This illustration shows the architectural and aesthetic importance of the niches: there is a large one for each of the five sections of the edifice and other smaller ones cover the base. On the extreme right, openings corresponding to the *ardhamaṇḍapa* and the *maṇḍapa* with their protecting roofs end abruptly at the *mahāmaṇḍapa* wall. This wall is decorated with two rows of sculptures up to the projection of its balcony. The superstructure of this balcony shows clearly enough the additional function of the protecting roofs.

lxxxiii. LAKṢMAṆA. The background is the countryside visible from the platform on which the temple stands. To the right the small sanctuary known as the Devī, and to the left, in the foreground, the south side of the balcony of the *ardhamaṇḍapa.* Lower down, the flight of steps leading into the temple and the front part of the platform can be seen.

lxxxiv. LAKṢMAṆA. The edge of the south wall, the *garbhagṛha,* the second row of statuary and the west balcony. Small panels depicting dancing scenes and cut-out palm decorations adorn and lighten a very broad string-course.

lxxxv. LAKṢMAṆA. South façade. The second row of sculptures and that part of the wall which lies between the two balconies. A very beautiful cut-out design decorates the broad string-course above the sculptures. An examination of the *caitya*-window design above the niches, especially that on the extreme right of the picture, is very interesting. It shows the technique used, and how symmetrically the thickness of the wall was divided into sections before it was worked out into the elaborated design.

lxxxvi–lxxxvii. LAKṢMAṆA. South façade. Two different sections of the temple base. These details show clearly the relative dimensions of the great torus and boldly jutting cyma reversa. Their large scale leaves a considerable hollow which the artists hastened to fill with myriads of tiny animated scenes and carvings, illustrating events from every-day life. Two four-armed goddesses, each holding a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* in the lower left hand, can be seen.

lxxxviii. LAKṢMAṆA. Another section of the temple base from the south side. The superstructure of the niche terminates at a lower level, and this allows room for a belt of horizontal decoration. The general effect is less heavy than in the preceding plates. The erotic frieze consists of a series of little scenes which are, however, rather difficult to distinguish. The geometrical design on the fillets above the frieze has been executed with meticulous care.

lxxxix. LAKṢMAṆA. The east side of the balcony of the *garbhagṛha*. The frieze of warriors and elephants is the string-course which marks the end of the high *pāda-bhāga* and the beginning of the middle part of the *jaṅgha*. Above we can see how cleverly the widened balustrade of the balcony is attached. Lotus petals form a hollow. It is interesting to note the two different techniques employed in the decoration of the surfaces of the banisters and the large cusps on the wall. One is simple, the surface is flat and the carving has no relief, while that of the others is deeply cut with a dotted effect, and a low relief. We are always tempted to conclude that the simple and flat effect is a rough sketch, the first step of carving. But we meet so many hundreds and hundreds of similar ones on the site, that we are rather inclined to think that it is a style or a 'manière'.

xc. LAKṢMAṆA. Detail of the decoration of the south wall of the temple which gives the impression that it is bursting with vitality.

xci. LAKṢMAṆA. South front, middle part of the first row of sculptures. Dr. P. Chandra has described the central scene so fully that we feel there is little we can add: 'It represents another orgiastic scene in which both lay and religious personages take part. To the left is a naked ascetic, his head and face shaven clean and carrying the club across his shoulder. The figures in the centre are clearly not religious as is evidenced by their jewelry and coiffure. To the right is a woman hiding her nudity. These orgiastic scenes in which religious ascetics take part should be distinguished I think from many other *mithuna* figures that adorn the walls of the numerous temples at Khajurāho. Most of these powerful and tense works of art are untouched by courseness of any kind and faithfully represent the state of ultimate spiritual unity where *yoga* and *bhoga*

are one and of which physical union is an appropriate earthly reflection. The artist has here seen through the physical rite to the reality of which it is an enactment and symbol and has therefore been able to endow his creation with a corresponding depth and beauty[172].'

xcii. LAKṢMAṆA. South front. The re-entrant of the wall between the two balconies, with the two central scenes and the sculptures around them.

xciii. LAKṢMAṆA. South front, the first row of sculptures. To the right in the background, one end of the *maṇḍapa* balcony. In the centre, Viṣṇu holding the *padma* in his upper right hand, the *cakra* in his upper left hand, the *śaṅkha* in the lower right and the *gadā* in the lower left. He is wearing a very high tiara and on his chest appears a mark which is known as the *śrīvatsa* symbol. The goddess on his right is probably Lakṣmī.

xciv. LAKṢMAṆA. South front, second row of sculptures. A bevy of goddesses surrounds the divine couple on the middle panel between the two balconies.

xcv. LAKṢMAṆA. Detail of the preceding plate. The grace and the smile of this *surasundarī* are like a ray of sunshine which brightens up this austere wall with its majestic line of divinities. Her body makes a three-quarter turn towards the centre couple but her pose is effortless. She is deeply absorbed in her toilet. Her hair is loose and she has brought one long tress *(veṇi)* forward so that it hangs down the front of her body. She is in the act of twisting it before arranging it around her head.

xcvi–ci. LAKṢMAṆA. Six scenes belonging to a large frieze decorating the south face of the temple terrace. As we climb the steps leading to the platform of the Mātaṅgeśvara, this frieze can be seen to the right under the south wall of the little south-east sanctuary of the Laksmaṇa. The reason for and the purpose behind such scenes have been discussed at length, and form the subject of two recent articles to which reference should be made[173]. Here we would simply draw attention to the plastic beauty of these scenes and their vivid liveliness from which the detailed treatment of jewels, costumes and weapons in no way detracts. It is certain that these sculptures were covered with a coating of plaster.

According to Dr. Goetz a scene like the one on plate ci most probably depicts the preparation of an elixir 'for a sort of primitive hormone treatment and which, as far as informations are available, seem to have been quite effective.' It is known that the *śākta* belief promised its adepts immortality, as well as the Kaula and Kāpālika sects, which flourished in Khajurāho and the Tantrist sects throughout India.

cii. LAKṢMAṆA. The south façade. This plate, like number lxxxix was taken from a point on the façade where the parapet of the balconies joins the main wall of the building. The broad string-course decorated by a frieze of fighting warriors, wedded to the contours of the wall, gives unity and continuity to the whole. Not for one moment do we feel that parts have been added or changed. The close co-ordination between the work of the architect and the artist is clearly apparent in a photographic illustration such as this. Large *nāga* hoods halo the heads of the female deities.

ciii. LAKṢMAṆA. Bust of a goddess on the south front. The beautiful ornamental coiffure *(dhammilla)* is one of those used to embellish heavenly figures as, for example, in plate xciii. In this particular sculpture, it has come down to us in an excellent state of preservation and we can easily distinguish all the precious stones which decorate it.

civ. LAKṢMAṆA. South front. The carving on the first row situated immediately to the side of the east parapet of the *mahāmandapa* balcony. Despite the fact that her attributes are not visible, we are inclined to see in this work a goddess. Her grave, authoritative, even arrogant expression and the stately way she holds her head are very different from the gentle and gracious poses of the *surasundarī*, *apsaras* and other female figures.

cv. LAKṢMAṆA. This detail of the preceding plate has been included for the coiffure and the precious ornaments. It is worthwhile to notice with what meticulous care the sculptor has reproduced these jewels – the minute links and clasps which hold the stones together and hide the joints, the thickness of the flexible chain which contrasts with the flat rigid necklace, the four rows of pearls around the neck; nothing has been left out. The arrangement of the hair with the little crown of links, somewhat unusual, is more common than the large chignon held in place by, and adorned with, strings of beads.

cvi. LAKṢMAṆA. South front. In the background, on the left, the parapet of the west balcony of the *garbhagṛha* can be seen. The central figure is Viṣṇu wearing a very elaborate *mukuṭa*.

cvii. LAKṢMAṆA. To the left of Viṣṇu in the preceding plate this beautiful *surasundarī* stretches in a gesture of lascivious abandon. The quivering flesh of her body, which even the cold crudity of stone cannot dissemble, is barely covered by a *dhotī* of transparent muslin. The garment is embroidered, but the sculptor has given the impression of an incrustation of gems, like her abundant jewelry. A long *dupaṭṭā*, pleated in a sinuous line, follows the curve of her silhouette.

cviii. LAKṢMAṆA. At the level of the south balconies of the temple, more precisely on the balcony parapet of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*. To the right, in the background, the balcony of the *garbhagṛha*. To the left, one of the four small sanctuaries in quincunx. The one on this illustration, facing east, stands on the south-west corner of the platform. The column decoration ceases at about the height of the parapet.

cix. LAKṢMAṆA. This group is situated near the south wall of the projection of the temple platform. In the background the long frieze reproduced in plates cx and cxvii can be seen. A brief examination is enough to convince the viewer that this sculpture belonged originally to a different place from the one it occupies at present. The possibility exists that it stood on a platform like those which we considered to have been found *in situ* on the Kaṇḍāriya platform. The animal is badly proportioned and his figure rather odd. The treatment is harsh, and it seems that the care for realism gives place to decorative consideration alone.

cx. LAKṢMAṆA. The long frieze, which decorates the south side, under the parapet of the projection of the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the temple. It forms the background to the group of the lion and man in the preceding plate. We show here that part of the frieze which begins at the west end (the blank wall which can be seen at right angles is that of the *adhiṣṭhāna* itself). It is without question one of the most important friezes to survive at Khajurāho. Its importance derives not only from its length and breadth but also from its style. Very free and lively, with faces which could almost be described as archaic and without overloading. The composition is unified by a rhythm which sways now to the right, now to the left, to give an effect of the movement to-and-fro of the battle. Groups of combatants, which are nevertheless not isolated, give the impression of being part of the struggle where beast and men are opposed. The three figures with twisted bodies who move towards the bare wall suggest that this frieze was to have continued on the return also.

cxi–cxv. LAKṢMAṆA. Scenes belonging to the long frieze (plate cx) running along the south wall of the projecting part of the platform, and under its balustrade. On plate lxxviii this frieze can be seen above a niche. Plate cxi gives striking proof of how unconventional, free from stiffness and different from religious sculptures is the carving of these lively scenes. The rich harness-trappings of the elephant contrast with the nakedness and simple lines of the warrior figures and their weapons.

cxvi. LAKṢMAṆA. Bas-relief on the east wall of the base of the small south-east sanctuary of the

pañcāyatana. A teacher is seated in the midst of eleven pupils whose faces are turned towards him in rapt attention. He is holding a stone slab; the fact that one of the figures is helping him to hold it proves that it is stone and not parchment. This and the fact that some of the figures are holding chisels suggest that the lesson is about architecture or sculpture. The clothes and headgear of all the figures are very simple. The composition centres on the most important figure.

cxvii. LAKṢMAṆA. The eastern end of the frieze the beginning of which is shown on plate cx.

cxviii. LAKṢMAṆA. From this damaged group we can just manage to discern the figure of a horseman attended by a servant. The horse, which is curiously proportioned, wears full harness which can easily be distinguished despite the bad condition of the sculpture.

cxix. A group of two warriors. It was found on the site, most probably in the vicinity of the Lakṣmaṇa and the Viśvanātha. As was the case with several other bas-reliefs, these figures were embedded in the east wall of the platform on which the nineteenth-century temple of Pratāpeśvar has been built. This temple can be seen clearly on the extreme right of plate xxxvii between the balcony and the protecting roof of the Lakṣmaṇa. Spirit and liveliness are expressed by the curved lines which set the combatants in opposition, but which also create a harmony in the group.

cxx–cxxi. Detail of the preceding group: heads of the two warriors. It is interesting to note the importance of the hair style which resembles certain feminine styles. The workmanship of these sculptures is very similar to that found in the erotic frieze plates xcvi–ci and in the fighting scenes, both of which belong to the external decoration of the large platform of the Lakṣmaṇa.

cxxii. DEVĪ. A front view of this little temple which faces west and stands opposite the Lakṣmaṇa.

cxxiii. MĀTAṄGEŚVARA. In the right foreground, the little south-east sanctuary, and in the background the south-west sanctuary. Both stand on the same terrace and are a part of the *pañcāyatana* complex of which the Laksmaṇa is the chief temple. Southwards, on an extension of this same terrace, the Mātaṅgeśvara looms up, very different in appearance and structure, being square with pyramidal roof-work. Its walls are totally bare of any decoration and contrast with those of the Lakṣmaṇa which are very rich and teem with figures of human beings and animals.

cxxiv. VARĀHA. A view of the temple which was apparently built for the sole purpose of housing the Varāha. The general effect is heavy, and the staircase (certainly of a rather recent date) is out of balance.

cxxv. VARĀHA. A view of the left side of the wild boar in a standing position. We can easily make a detailed examination of the sculptural decoration. Strict religious rules, more so in India than elsewhere, limit the scope of the artist. It is interesting to study the methods by which, while respecting the *śāstra* and keeping to the regulations, the *śilpin* managed to satisfy certain artistic demands. The size alone of this colossal statue made the artist's task a difficult one. Then came the problem of housing such a large crowd of personages, each in his own special place. It would be quite wrong to suppose that the standing position of the deities decorating the animal's paws is the result of pure accident. True, the necessary elongation of this part of the animal's anatomy has been achieved, but certainly the iconographical laws must have allowed this possibility for the artist to have been able to do so. On the whole the composition is well planned and the figures cleverly distributed. The rows are wider in certain parts, where this is necessary, and become narrower on the animal's back; the fine beading separating these rows lightens the whole in a most satisfactory way. Cunningham counted 674 carved figures on the boar's body.

cxxvi. VARĀHA. The animal's paws. The head of Śesa Nāga is missing but its long, sinuous body extends the length of the pedestal. The two human feet are remnants of the goddess Pṛthvī. On the right paw of the Varāha statue, note *nāga* figures on the first two rows. This is an interesting detail and bears upon what we have just discussed. The breadth of the row of gods along the part where the animal's belly begins, is greater than that of the side rows, and follows the round shape of it. In the same way, care was taken to place the row which encircles the neck a little behind the dividing line so as to make the head appear less heavy. This can be seen more clearly on the following plate.

cxxvii. VARĀHA. In this detail of the ornamental work on the animal's left flank, besides the iconographical signs which simplify the identification of the deities, there are also indications of the technique employed in this decoration. The rows are made up of effigies of immobile personages, in repetitive groups. Then, there is some degree of rhythm and movement in the composition. On a level with Viṣṇu's head (the god is in a standing position) dancers, musicians and gift-bearers – figures indispensable to any religious ceremony – make their appearance.

cxxviii. VARĀHA. Detail of the carving decorating the left of the boar's head. We can easily

imagine that if this head were absolutely devoid of sculpture, it would be out of balance with the heavily carved body. And this is where the Varāha of Khajurāho is superior to that of Eran and to most of the boar statues which have come down to us. The ornamental treatment of the ear shows the same floral element as that used on the site to decorate the thighs of the *śārdūla*. Even so, the *śilpin* has forgotten, as at Eran, that a female deity should be placed on the lobe of the ear.

cxxix. VARĀHA. The boar's snout. Between the nostrils is a seated Viṣṇu carved in low relief.

cxxx. JAVĀRI. The north front of the temple on its platform, in the middle of cultivated fields. The way it is outlined against the horizon shows clearly the balance of its bulk and the details of the contours of the parts which form the whole. Attention should be paid to the lion (?) silhouetted on the covering of the *antarāla*. In the background is a cluster of towers crowded close to each other. This is the group of Jaina temples situated to the south-east of the present village of Khajurāho. In one enclosure, ancient and modern temples stand side by side.

cxxxi. VĀMANA. View of the sanctuary from the south side on its particularly high platform. The *śikhara*, the *antarāla* and the *mahāmaṇḍapa*, the only parts which have come down to us, are particularly well preserved. We have already remarked on the superstructure of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* and should add, perhaps, that the numerous little finials and recesses give it an appearance, from a distance at least, of being rounded rather than made up of receeding stages, as we find in the superstructure of the Lakṣmaṇa *mahāmaṇḍapa* in plate lxxviii.

cxxxii. VĀMANA. The south balcony of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* with details of its superstructure and that part of the wall which abuts on the *garbhagṛha*. It will be observed that there is no balcony and no *aṅga-śikhara* on the main part of the *śikhara*. The silhouettes of the female figures are elongated so as to appear spindle-shaped, and their long narrow feet seem to grow out of their trunks. This impression is heightened by the flattening of the hips and the absence of the *bhaṅga*. The wall projections are very narrow and hold only one figure at a time; this, may be, contributes to the impression of length.

cxxxiii. DULĀDEO. The entrance into the temple facing east and the north front. The architect, while adhering to the customary rules of the architecture of the site, has here created the most elegant *śikhara* in Khajurāho and the superstructure covering the *antarāla* is the least bulky and heavy.

cxxxiv. DULĀDEO. Detail of the capital of the south-west column in the *mahāmaṇḍapa*. An examination of the two *yakṣa* placed on the two faces of the same capital is particularly interesting, and displays the sculptor's fantasy and freedom. One of the *yakṣa* raises himself by means of two of his hands, while with the other two he supports the fillet along the top of the capital. The other does the same with his upper hands but the lower two are free. The rather masculine hair style of this second figure, the dagger he brandishes in one hand, the sash he holds in the other, and mainly the round ear-rings suggest that the figure really is a *yakṣa*. By varying the positions of these heavenly beings the sculptor has succeeded in breaking the monotony of a theme so often used to decorate capitals on the site.

cxxxv. DULĀDEO. South façade of the temple. A projection of the *garbhagṛha* wall on which the principal niches stand, and the east front of this projection taken from the balcony of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*. The three rows of statuary are clearly visible. The *surasundari* or *apsaras* are creations of an artist who, while respecting the traditions of the period and the site, has rendered them in a more lively fashion. They wear a sort of crown or tiara, and their clothes as well as their jewelry are treated in a different way. The necklaces, the belts on the hips and the ornaments on their clothes are not beaded. The bead is replaced by a long thin trimming reminiscent of feathers or a fringe. Was this fashionable at the time of the building of this temple, or is it simply a figment of the artist's imagination?

cxxxvi. DULĀDEO. Detail of the previous plate. The fringe or feather trimmings on the clothes are clearly visible.

cxxxvii. DULĀDEO. South front. The base of the wall contains the three rows of sculptures. This photograph shows one of the numerous little panels of animated scenes which decorate the recesses and the projections of the walls. To the left, a figure, holding a stone or perhaps a weapon, is struggling with an elephant. In a movement which carries them to the other side of the panel, two warriors (one of them is clearly carrying a shield) hold something long in their right hands, which may well be a spear, and they are in pursuit of a bearded unarmed person.

cxxxviii. DULĀDEO. The centre of the ceiling of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*. The description of the following plate will show clearly the satisfactory way in which this circular motif develops out of the octagon. The transition from octagon to circle is simplified by the use of a flat decoration in both parts. But while in the octagonal part the geometrical design predominates, curved lines are predominent in the decoration of the concentric circles.

cxxxix. DULĀDEO. Interior of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*. The south-west corner of the octagon which rest on the capital and the first concentric circles on the ceiling with the lovely *śālabhañjikā*. The third monster head (perhaps that of a lion) which is identical with the other two would lead us to assume that a third *śālabhañjikā* must have existed at one time. On the string-courses, whether flat or moulded, we find almost all the elements of decoration used in Khajurāho as well as an animated frieze depicting one of the many battles waged by the Candella in order to enlarge or defend their kingdom. The satisfactory application of all the methods of architectural decoration cannot be too highly praised: the flat cut-out drawings, the purely geometrical designs with their right angles, and their delicate relief, and the cleft pearls introducing a certain modelling which is to be accentuated a little higher up by the frieze, gently and sinuously modelled. Then, still running horizontally, the ornamentation changes gradually and is partly moulded, partly drawn; the Vitruvian scrolls, which are to dominate the ceiling decoration, make their appearance; this is a mixture of the cut-out and the moulded methods, and is made chiefly of curves, so suitable to the decoration of a circular surface like this ceiling. The great originality lies in the introduction of the *śālabhañjikā* which offer vertical elements to divide and cut the monotonous horizontal lines of the decoration, and by their strong curves and high relief, fill in the corners which would otherwise have been bare and empty.

cxl. DULĀDEO. Detail of the previous photograph. The *śālabhañjikā* are a purely Indian element of decorative art. The word, according to Prof. J. Ph. Vogel appears only in classical literature and these graceful personages find their origin in India's traditional festival of flowers.[174] They are to be found practically everywhere on ancient Indian sites (Sāñchī, Bārhut, Mathurā and so on) in high relief or in full-round carving. In Khajurāho we find them carved in the round in one or two of the temples, inside the *maṇḍapa*, and they are placed more or less in the same part of the buildings as shown in plate cxxxvi. We must point out, however, that the style of the artist of the Dulādeo is very different from that of the artist who designed the *śālabhañjikā* of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the Lakṣmaṇa temple, so often reproduced.[175] In the Dulādeo the proportions are more beautiful, the attitudes less contorted and more natural, the bodies more animated; in short the general effect is simpler, less encumbered by other figures and details, and, above all, the modelling is much more beautiful. The lower part of the figure in the Lakmṣaṇa is flat, the arms are too thin and despite an effort to make it appear alive and real, the figure remains stiff. The figure, we are concerned with here, is well-balanced and unquestionably derives from the classical tradition. Another point which becomes evident from comparing the two styles, is the variety of ornaments adorning the female figures; we have already described them in plate cxxxv. Adornments are general and uniform in the statues of the Dulādeo.

cxli. CATURBHUJA OR JATKĀRI. We follow the path southward and penetrate into the jungle. In the foreground is a pond, and in the background the temple raised on its terrace and seen here from the south-west.

cxlii. CATURBHUJA OR JATKĀRI. View of the entrance which faces west. The *ardhamaṇḍapa* and the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the temple can be seen in the foreground and the *śikhara* in the back. Accustomed as we are to carved decorations covering the parapets, we realize at a glance that those of the Caturbhuja are probably restorations, at least as far as the long flat section on the south side of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* is concerned.

cxliii. CATURBHUJA OR JATKĀRI. The south side of the upper part of the temple taken so as to emphasize the rounded line of the *śikhara*. The main part of the *śikhara* above the horizontal mouldings is the result of reconstruction work done on the tower. Note that the long section of the parapet of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* (which in plate cxlii is seen from the south side) is a restoration. In addition we can see on this illustration the abutment of this long white block with the narrow side forming an angle.

cxliv. CATURBHUJA OR JATKĀRI. South front. Part of the outer wall of the *garbhagṛha* with its three rows of sculptures. Besides the statue of Śiva in his Ardhanārī form, which is housed in the large niche on the second row. Viṣṇu can be seen standing in the first row as Narasiṁha and, immediately above, as Varāha.

cxlv. CATURBHUJA OR JATKĀRI. The interior of the temple. Group of sculptures decorating the base of the framework of the door leading into the cella, which contains a colossal statue of Viṣṇu.

cxlvi. GHANṬAI. The entrance into the temple, facing east. The pillars on the extreme left and right seem to be those of granite which were embedded in the walls which have since disappeared. The four columns which support the roof of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* are decorated with the same rich ornamental motifs in rather high relief. They are identical with those on plate cxlix. Note the delicacy of the palm-leaf design decorating the fillet along the stylobate. The bracket capitals of the first two columns were surely meant to support the beams running from the east side, because the decoration of the architrave which rests on them ceases suddenly, leaving a space equal to the width of a beam. It is very likely that a protecting roof rested on these two bracket capitals.

cxlvii. GHANṬAI. The door we pass through in order to re-enter the *mahāmaṇḍapa*. It has been described at page 143. A very beautiful floral motif adorns the centre of the horizontal step which is the threshold. On both sides deities are seated, and on both the outer edges elephants which look as if they belong to a procession. The Navagraha which ornate the left half of the lintel are always represented, in North India, one beside the other, in rows, forming a kind of frieze and decorating the lintel of the entrance into a sanctuary. Herein lies the difference between the representation of Navagraha in North and South India.[176]

It seems strange to find deities of the Brahmanical-Hindu pantheon in a Jaina temple. But in Jaina texts there are lists of the divinities who abundantly adorn Jaina temples, and the Navagraha belong to this list, together with the Dikpāla, Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī 'attendants of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkara'.[177]

cxlviii. GHANṬAI. South side of the temple. Our attention is drawn to the three separate parts built on different levels which probably correspond to the three *maṇḍapa*. The Ghanṭai does not seem to have been built on a terrace; at leat the remains of this temple do not lead us to suppose this.

cxlix. GHANṬAI. The south-west column, one of the four which support the roof of the *mahā-maṇḍapa*. The bell (ghaṇṭa) and chain ornament of these columns gave the temple its name.

cl. GHANṬAI. The south-west and south-east columns of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*, and the ceiling decorated with a very beautiful *padma* the high relief and modelling of which is more clearly seen here than in plate cliii. It should be noted that the two upper bands of the decoration which are otherwise identical differ between the columns. Here we have another example of a certain fantasy and freedom of treatment displayed by the artists of Khajurāho when dealing with decorative sculpture rather than religious images.

cli. GHANṬAI. Detail of the decoration of the upper part of the south-east column of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*.

clii. GHANṬAI. Ceiling of the *ardhamaṇḍapa*, damaged in parts. As the photograph was taken horizontally underneath it, it is impossible to see, fully, the sunken effect of the central medallion, an effect created by the coffers. More than one detail give harmony to the whole, and the ceiling rosettes in high relief which alternate with flat rectangles decorated with undercut curves give a most happy effect.

cliii. GHANṬAI. Ceiling of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*. The same elements of decoration as in the previous one, yet the treatment of the whole is different; cut-out lines are combined with modelling which though only sketchy keeps the surface from being completely flat and smooth. The ornamental strip which runs around the outer edge of the rectangle is, extraordinarily enough, of a different pattern on the west side. One can hardly put this down to restoration work. It seems that the artist started another ornamental design which turned out to be rather jumbled, and gave it up in favour of the first pattern which was more in fashion.

cliv. ĀDINĀTHA. The west and south fronts of the *śikhara* have preserved the most balanced example found in Khajurāho of the simple *śikhara* devoid of *aṅga-śikhara* and balconies. The entire construction and the details of the decoration adhere to the rules and conventions which govern the architecture of the site. Yet certain peculiarities give each tower an individual appearance. Here, the base is high in comparison with the size of the tower, thus enhancing its elegance. A belt of small niches decorates a wide course. The details show a certain refinement right up to the *kalaśa* decoration, consisting of a medial ring with indentation.

clv. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. The south side of the *śikhara* taken at an oblique angle from the level of the third row of sculptures. The *aṅga-śikhara* give the impression of assaulting the *śikhara*. On the *koṇaka-paga* of the main *śikhara* as well as on the two large *aṅga-śikhara* visible on the picture, narrow and ribbed cushion-like tiers are all which is left from the large *āmalaka* used to round the groins. This part of the building is in an excellent state of preservation as can be seen from this illustration. It is interesting to compare it with plate xvi which represents the side view of the *śikhara* of the Kaṇḍāriya.

clvi. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. The entrance facing east, and the south wall of the sanctuary. From this south-east angle, the porch does not seem to be in harmony with the rest of the building. The superstructure of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* is heavy and does not adhere to any of the principles which govern the extrados of the roof-structures found at Khajurāho. It is far removed from the elegant proportions which taper upwards like those of the Kaṇḍāriya or the Javāri.

clvii. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. The west end of the south wall. A small perforated window replaces a *śārdūla*, an unusual feature.

clviii. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. South façade. The porch and first part of the long wall. The three superimposed niches correspond with the three rows of sculptures and are the only ones to be found

along the length of this wall. Deities, single or in pairs, standing on projecting socles are protected by a kind of canopy and separated from each other by recessed *śārdūla*.

clix. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. The south front of the small sanctuary attached to the west wall of the temple. The same pantheon of minor deities with, in addition, two Tīrthaṅkara which are not present in the decoration of the main wall in pl. clvii, clviii and clx.

clx. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. The continuation of the south wall up to the two single perforated windows placed at the lower part of the usual niches with pilasters. They succeed the niche which is placed on the mouldings of the plinth, and the whole group forms a strong vertical feature which cuts across the horizontality of the *bāḍa*. This line springs from the *pāda-bhāga* and the surmounting *caitya*-window motif is based on the first *aṅga-śikhara* which mark the beginning of the *gaṇḍi*. The *jaṅghā* is formed from these registers of sculpture, the separation of which is accentuated by the *bañdhanā*. It should be noted that their number and decoration are the same as that of the Kaṇḍāriya and do not include scenes as do those of the Laksmaṇa. The limits of the *bāḍa* and the *gaṇḍi* is also emphasized in this case by the deep and powerful mouldings which constitute the *baraṇḍa*. The divine couple so tenderly entwined, on the first register, is Śiva and Pārvatī, she still holding her mirror, and he wearing a *mukuṭa* much more elaborate than such *jaṭā-mukuṭa* as that in pl. ix. Further along, a Nāgarāja embraces his companion. According to J. N. Banerjea 'Padmāvatī, the Śāsana-devatā of the twenty-third Jina Pārśvanātha, is like him associated with snakes *(nāga)*...',[178] so it must not appear strange that on the walls of this temple especially, the iconography has included a king of the snakes or, perhaps, a God who appears under a Nāga hood.

clxi. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. South front, showing part of the east side of the sculptures on the first row.

clxii. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. Detail of the preceding illustration. The first niche on the first row of sculptures. It shelters a richly adorned four-armed goddess in a standing position; the *bhaṅga* is accentuated. Her two left arms are missing, and she is for this reason difficult to identify. The presence of a small figure of a Tīrthaṅkara to the right at her feet suggests that she is a Jaina goddess. It is very likely that she is one of the sixteen Vidyādevī or one of the other female deities the Jains borrowed from the Brāhman pantheon. Her raiment and her jewelry as well as the sacred thread *(yajñopavīta)* of Brahmā are beaded. At her feet are six minor deities and two animal forms. On each side of her high tiara, two couples are seated on the capitals of the pillars which form the background of the niche.

clxiii. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. Detail of the previous photograph. The *surasundarī* stands to the left of the large pillared niche. With languid grace she is occupied in removing a thorn from her foot. We do not have to look very far to find the same attitude, the same gesture in real life; the young women from the near-by village of Khajurāho walk barefoot in the neighbouring jungle and often come up against such obstacles. At her feet is a small figure holding a mirror. The expression on her face is gentle, amused rather than sad, with the suggestion of a smile. Her attitude and her gestures suggest a certain affectation and langourousness. Traces of the embroidery on her *dhotī* can be seen. Of the beauties on the site, she has become the best known though reproductions.

clxiv. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. Bust of the *surasundarī*.

clxv. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. South front. The beginning of the first row. The central figure must also be a divine one as she is richly adorned, wears a tiara *(mukuṭa)* and holds in her hands attributes which are however difficult to identify. The highly satisfactory way in which the artist has managed to counterbalance the silhouettes of these two godesses is remarkable indeed. Their bodies curve in bending posture *(bhaṅga)* away from each other, thus avoiding an otherwise inevitable monotony.

clxvi. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. Detail of the previous photograph representing the god Agni. An interesting phenomenon is the interpenetration of the Brahmanic pantheon in Buddhist and Jaina iconography. Agni is one of the eight major Deva of early epic literature, who later became the eight guardians of the four principal and four minor quarters, one of the Lokapāla. As the guardian of the South-East, it was not chance that placed him at the head of the deities which make up the front row on the south-east section of the temple. For the numerous aspects under which he appears at different times and in different parts of India, reference may be made to specialized works.[179] Here the god wears a plaited beard, a moustache and a *mukuṭa*. Flames spring up from the back of his head and he has four arms. He holds a rosary in his lower right hand and a water vessel *(purṇa-ghaṭa)* in his lower left hand. The attribute he holds in his upper left hand is somewhat difficult to recognize: it looks rather like a book; but from the other side it looks as if he has a club in his right hand. The mutilated form of a small animal lies at his feet.

clxvii. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. South front, part of the two upper rows of sculptures. It will be noticed that the figures are mostly in pairs *(mithuna)*. Speaking of the Ādinātha (p. 145) attention has been drawn to the beauty and dynamism of the *vidyādhara* which are very simular to those seen here.

clxviii. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. Detail of the preceding plate.

clxix. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. South front. Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī form the central couple; on their right is a *surasundarī* and on their left a female deity holding an infant in her arms.

clxx. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. Detail of the preceding plate. Her right hand clasps her left which she has placed behind her neck, and this movement as well as her *bhaṅga* carries her in the direction of the divine couple. Her head is turned towards them and her face is radiant with pleasure, even joy.

clxxi. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. Detail of plate clv. A four-armed figure of the god Viṣṇu holding the *cakra* in the upper right hand, the *śaṅkha* in the upper left, the *gadā* in the lower right and the *padma* in the lower left. According to Dr. C. Sivaramamurti[180] the arrangement of attributes in Viṣṇu's hands corresponds with geographical factors in Indian iconography. It is interesting to compare it with the Viṣṇu figure on plate xciii which, while holding the same attributes, does so in a different order. A particular arrangement must have corresponded to each of the twenty-four aspects of the god.[181] With his two left arms Viṣṇu embraces his consort Lakṣmī and draws her towards him. The god and the goddess gaze at each other tenderly, and strength and happiness emanate from their attitude and their expression.

clxxii. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. Detail of plate clxix. A front view of the divinity holding in one of her hands an object with three buds at the lower end; these may be closed lotus flowers or seed-buds. We have already drawn attention to an object very like this one on plate xlv. With the other hand this figure holds a child who is clinging to her breast. She is perhaps one of the goddesses of motherhood fertility who have their place in the iconography of all religions.

clxxiii. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. South front, the first row of sculptures. It is often difficult to tell, from among the female figures decorating the temple walls at Khajurāho, which of them are minor deities, *surasundarī* or *nāyikā*. As in the case of the Pārśvanātha, the Jaina temples give rise to an additional problem caused by the great interrelation between Brahmanical-Hindu iconography on the one hand and Jaina iconography on the other, and this especially during the so-called mediaeval period in Indian art. Either goddess or *surasundarī*, one thing is certain, the beautiful female form we see here is holding a mirror in her left hand and a tiny stick for the application of *koḥl* to her lashes in her right. She appears engrossed in her task. At her feet is a young servant, a bag hanging from his shoulder; this bag obviously contains cosmetics and the wherewithal to adorn his mistress.

clxxiv. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. South front. This *śārdūla* is placed on the left side of the female personage on the preceding plate. Explanatory notes on this beautiful composition may be found on page 150.

clxxv. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. Another *śārdūla*, also on the south front, being attacked by two warriors. As the photograph was taken at an oblique angle and the shadows cast by the sun were sharp, the result is that it is easy to discern the depth of the relief of the leaf-design on the animal's hips and shoulders. We have already come across these decorative elements on the large three-dimensional lion (plate xxxiv), but in that particular case they were cut out practically on a level with the stone, i.e. in very low relief.

NOTES

1. N. S. Bose, *History of the Candellas of Jejakabhukti*, Calcutta, 1956, pp. 202–205, where precise information about them may also be found. A list of them is also given by S. K. Mitra, in *The Early Rulers of Khajurāho*, Calcutta 1958, pp. 223 ss.
2. EI, vol. I, IV, X, XII, XX, XXV. – IA, vol. XI, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XXV. – AR, ASI, II, X XXI, and of the years 1935–36, 1936–37. – JASB, III, VI (part I), XVII (part I), XXXII, XLVII (part I), LXIV (part I). - AR, XII. AR,IE, 1946–47. – JBBRAS, New Series, XXIII. – IHQ, XXX, pp. 183–185.
3. An inscription bearing the date V.S. 1372 (A.D. 1315) which was found in Ajaigarh has been questioned by H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, 2 vol. Calcutta 1931, 1936, II, p. 732, fn. 4.
4. *Prabodhacandrodaya of Krishna Misra*, Edited by Vasudeva Lakshmana Pansikar, Skt. Text, 4th. Ed.,

THE TEXT FIGURES

has been redrawn after figures in the following publications. P. Brown, *Indian Architecture* (figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 11), B. L. Dhama and S. C. Chandra, *Khajurāho* (figs. 5, 15), *ARASI*, vols. II, VII, X (figs. 6, 12, 13, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23), A. Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhara* (fig. 7), R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* (fig. 8), B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India* (fig. 9), H. Parmentier, *L'Art architectural hindou* (figs. 10, 14), *JASB*, vol. 48 (figs. 18, 21, 22). For full bibliographical information see the Bibliography on pp. 200-3.

7. As in the case of Dhaṅgadeva Candella who, having reached the venerable age of 100 years, drowned himself at Allahābād: (EI, I, p. 146, vs. 55). – The Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva did the same thing in about A.D. 1041 together with his hundred wives, as did also Ananta, the *saciva* of the Candella Kīrtivarman (EI, I, p. 206, vs. 40). Also the Caulukya Mūlarāja (A.D. *c.* 961–996) who was burnt on a pyre on the banks of the Sarasvatī.
8. Such was the case of the famous King Bhoja of the Paramāra dynasty to whom numerous literary and scientific works have been ascribed.
9. *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* of Somaprabha, Gaekwad Oriental Series, dated A.D. 1179, thus a contemporary of the Caulukya Kumārapāla (*c.* 1144-1173).
10. The same king Kumārapāla (according to the *Moharājaparājaya* of Yaśaḥpāla (c. 1174–1177) seems to have treated them very severely ordering their hands, feet or ears to be cut off, their eyes, nose or lips to be torn off, or ordering them to appear in public without their clothes.
11. *Ta'rīkh-i-Firishta*, transl. by Briggs, London 1927, 1929, I, p. 46.
12. In this chapter and the following one we have made free use of the outstanding book by H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, amended on certain points by N. S. Bose in his later work, *History of the Candellas of Jejakabhukti*. We also must mention a recent book: S. K. Mitra, *The Early Rulers of Khajurāho*.
13. *Dīwān* by Ma'sūd ibn Sa'īd ibn Salmān, who lived at the court of Mas'ūd III, Ed. by Abu'l Qāsim Akhvani, Teheran, 1879, quoted by H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, I, p. 514, fn. 4.

14. *Murūj ul-Zahab*, by Mas'ūdi. Cf. *Les prairies d'Or*, transl. by C. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861, t. I.
15. The son of Rājyapāla, perhaps, or the Śāhi Trilocanapāla; cf. N. S. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
16. It seems that under this reign his governors had been Rāṣṭrakūṭa: cf. H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, I, p. 507.
17. H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 740–741.
18. This is denied by S. K. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
19. It seems in fact that Bhoja II (c. 908–914) and Mahīpāla I were rivals for the succession to Mahendrapāla I.
20. H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, I, p. 580.
21. Xth-century writer of the *Vikramārjuna - vijaya*, quoted by H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, I, p. 307.
22. His younger son murdered his own brother, who was to succeed Indra III, in order to seize the throne.
23. H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1211 ss. – Cf. also R. D. Banerji, *The Haihayas of Tripuri and their monuments*, MASI, No. 23, 1931.
24. *Epigraphia Indica*, I, p. 122, line 10.
25. N. S. Bose, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–24.
26. *Epigraphia Indica*, I, p. 221, verse 17. Cf. N. S. Bose, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–48.
27. H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, II, p. 960.
28. *Kitāb Zain ul Akbār* (A.D. 1048), Ed. by Muḥammad Nāzim, Iranschahr, Berlin, 1928, quoted by H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 953–954.
29. We must bear in mind that the moon is a masculine divinity.
30. H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, II, p 666 and fn. 3. – This does not mean to say however, that the form Candrātreya is the oldest one: certain writers think that this form represents an attempt to sanskritize 'Candrella', the more popular form.
31. This has been discussed most carefully and clearly by N. S. Bose, *op cit.*, pp. 1–9.
32. *Epigraphia Indica*, I, p. 131, vs. 18 and 19.
33. Cf. H. Goetz, *The Historical Background of the Great Temples of Khajurāho*, AA, t. V, fasc. 1, pp. 35–47. – EI, I, pp. 129 and 134, vs. 42 43. – H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 676–677.
34. Transl. Briggs, vol. I, p. 18.
35. *Epigraphia indica*, I, p. 146, vs. 55.
36. *Loc. cit.*, p. 45.
37. Here we are in agreement with H. C. Ray whose opinion was followed by N. S. Bose; according to this opinion the Nanda and Bīdā of Muslim writers was not Gaṇḍa but Vidyādhara. Dr. Goetz in his article makes use of the customary idea and ascribes to Gaṇḍa deeds which according to Ray and Bose belonged to his son.
38. V. R. P. Dikshitar, *War in Ancient India*, p. 260.
39. This was the Kīrtirāja however, who capitulated to the Muslim conqueror after four days siege.

40. Not one inscription has been found about his reign.

41. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 41–42.

42. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XX, p. 127.

43. N. S. BOSE, *loc. cit.*, p. 74 suggests these dates on the following grounds: the first inscription from Devavarman (A.D. 1051) shows no signs whatever of pessimism, while the second (1052) betrays his despair and lack of faith in life.

44. See N. S. BOSE, *op. cit.*, pp. 77–78, where is a feasible explanation of these dates.

45. According to MITRA, *op. cit.*, pp. 95 s.q., Gopāla is supposed to have been a cousin of the king.

46. R. CHANDRA, *The Kaula - Kāpālika Cults at Khajurāho*, Lalit-Kalā, Nos. 1–2, April 1955 – March 1956, pp. 98–107, pl. xxvii- xxxiii (New Delhi).

47. This victory seems to have been wholly indecisive for Siddharāja boasted that he had the best of Madanavarman.

48. Pṛthvīrāj - rāso, by CAND BARDĀI, ed. by M. V. PANDIA and S. S. DAS, Banaras, 1913. – *The Lay of Alha*, ascribed to JAGNAIK, son of Paramardi's sister, transl. by W. WATERFIELD, Oxford, G. Grierson, 1923.

49. *Nṛpa*, *bhūpa*, *rāja*, *kṣitipa*, *mahīpāla*, etc.

50. This name has suffered many changes: Jejābhukti, (EI, I, p. 218); Jejākabhukti (CUNNINGHAM, AR,ASI, vol. X. pl. 174); Jejābhuktika (EI, I, p. 35, v. 21); Jajāhūtī or Jajāhotī (*Albirūni's Indica*, transl. by Dr. E. SACHAU, London, 1910, I, p. 202). – We have seen above that Jejā probably came from Jayaśakti, grandson of king Nannuka (cf. p. 32).

51. He appears to have had considerable influence: 'When a king has for his guide a minister of noble birth, endowed with understanding uprightness and similar qualities, then there is clearly nothing so high that it would be difficult for him to attain to.' Cf. EI, I, p. 205, vs. 31.

52. *Epigraphia Indica*, t. I, pp. 197 and 205, vs. 33-34.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 206, vs. 40.

54. Dr. A. S. ALTEKAR, *State and Government in Ancient India*, Banaras, 1949, p. 145. – BOSE, *op. cit.*, p. 136, supposes that *viśiṣa* was more an honorary than an executive function.

55. According to BOSE, *op. cit.*, p. 130, his duties were not very different from those of the *mantri* or the *saciva*.

56. Cf. S. K. MITRA, *op. cit.*, p. 173 sq.

57. The prologue to the *Prabodhacandrodaya*.

58. A Dhaṅga inscription restored by Jayavarman and dated A.D. 1001–1002/1117, vs. 60: cf. *Epigraphia Indica*, t. I, pp. 139.

59. Translation by L. RENOU, *Anthologie Sanskrite*, Paris, 1947, pp. 174–175. For a description of the installation of divine images after the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, see J. N. BANERJEA, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, appendix A, pp. 565 ss.

60. Chiefly the *mukhaliṅga* on which the face of god is imprinted. At Khajurāho, a *caturmukha liṅga* still stands in its place in the Brahmā temple.

61. *Epigraphia Indica*, I, p. 309, vs. 2.

62. AR,ASI, 1911–12, pp. 47, 49, plate xviii, no. 15.

63. J. N. BANERJEA, *op. cit.*, p. 183, fn. 1.

64. AR,ASI, XXI, pp. 20 ss.

65. These are the following temples: Kaṇḍāriya, Viśvanātha, Mātaṅgeśvara, Brahmā (the modern name) and Dulādeo.

66. *Epigraphia Indica*, I, pp. 145 sq.

67. A column (*dhvaja*) raised at Besnagar by Heliodorus, ambassador from the Indo-Greek king Antialkidas to the court of the king of Vidiśā. – Coins of the Pañcāla Mitra series.

68. J. N. BANERJEA, *op. cit.*, p. 131. – In the representations of Viṣṇa Caturmūrti, the east (human) face is that of Vāsudeva; see J. N. BANERJEA, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

69. *Id. ibid.*, plate ii, no. 7.

70. Sir JOHN MARSHALL, AR,ASI, 1911–12, pp. 29 ss.

71. See STELLA KRAMRISCH, JISOA, I, pp. 99 100 and plate xxx. – Also J. N. BANERJEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 261 and 406.

72. See a summary on this subject in J. N. BANERJEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 sq.

73. Cf. G. RAO, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras, 1914–1916, II, p. 518.

74. A whole chapter is devoted to this god by J. N. BANERJEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 428–445. Cf. too G. RAO, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 311–312.

75. Cf. S. KRAMRISCH, *The Hindu Temple*, 2 vol. Calcutta, 1946, II, pp. 373–4, plate vi. – J. N. BANERJEA, *op. cit.*, p. 552.

76. J. N. BANERJEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 510–519.

77. According to CUNNINGHAM, AR,ASI, XXI, p. 57, one of the oldest temples of Khajurāho was dedicated to this god; J. N. BANERJEA repeats this opinion, without comment, *op. cit.*, p. 514. Nevertheless, it appears that this is the modern name for a sanctuary the principal image of which was a *caturmukhaliṅga*, which was wrongly identified as Brahmā owing to the fact that he has four faces: cf. B. L. DHAMA and S. C. CHANDRA, *Khajurāho* (Department of Archaeology, India), New Delhi, 1952, p. 26.

78. K. N. DIKSHIT, *Six sculptures from Mahobā*, MASI, No. 8, 1921.

79. Cf. EI, XXI, pp. 6 sq. – AR, ASI, 1906–07, pp. 179 ss. ASI, Ep. Sec., 1930–31. – J. N. BANERJEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 6. 244, 272, 450, 465, 480. – By the same author: *Lakulīśa, the founder or systematizer of the Pāśupata system*, PIHC, in Jaipur, pp. 32 ss. Lakulīśa is sometimes regarded as the twenty-eighth incarnation of Śiva.

80. Dr. P. H. POTT, *Yoga en Tantra*, Leinden, 1946.
81. H. GOETZ, *The Historical Background*, pp. 35–47.
82. H. GOETZ, *loc. cit.* – P. CHANDRA, *The Kaula - Kāpālika cults at Khajurāno.*
83. H. C. RAY, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 995–996.
84. RMR, 1923, p. 2.
85. Cf. L. RENOU and J. FILLIOZAT, *L'Inde Classique*, vol. I, p. 630.
86. P. CHANDRA, *op. cit.*, p. 38..
87. *Loc. cit.*, p. 45.
88. *Rājataraṅgiṇī* by KALHANA, translated by M. A. STEIN, Lahore, 1892, book VII, vs. 1129 ff.
89. *Epigraphia Indica*, I, pp. 267–268, vs. 48–57. – H. C. RAY, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 767 and fn. 1.
90. H. C. RAY, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 762–763.
91. *Id. Ibid.*, p. 767.
92. Dr. GOETZ carries this theory much further but it does not seem to fit in exactly with the historical facts brought to light by H. C. RAY and N. S. BOSE. It is well worth reading however, for, based on clever hypotheses, it reconstructs in a realistic way the atmosphere of the age.
93. *Loc. cit.*, p. 45.
94. ELIZABETH SHARPE, *The Secrets of the Kaula Circle*, London, 1937.
95. According to traditional lore there are eight of them: Bārigarh, Kālañjāra, Ajaigarh, Maniyāgarh, Marphā, Maudhā, Garhā an Mahiyār. Cf. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXXVII, p. 132.
96. Al-Bīrūnī wrote the following words: 'Between Khajurāho and Kanoj there are two of the most powerful fortresses in India, Gwāliyar and Kālañjar.' Cf. *Albīrūnī's Indica*, transl. by Dr. E. SACHAU, vol. I, p. 202.
97. Descriptions of them in the inscriptions are full of the usual metaphors: 'This most excellent (town) named Padmāvatī, built in an unprecedented manner, was crowded with lofty rows of streets of palaces, in which tall horses were curvetting; with its shining white high-topped walls which grazed the clouds, it irradiated the sky; (and) it was full of bright palatial dwellings that resembled the peaks of the snowy mountains.'. Cf. EI, I, p. 151, vs. 6.
98. *Epigraphia Indica*, I, p. 146, vs. 28, 1.3 and fn. 80.
99. *Ibid.*, I, p. 132, vs. 21.
100. *Ibid.*, I, p. 132. vs. 23.
101. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 325 ss.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 212, vs. 6.
103. *Mayamata*, chapters XIX and XXI; *Īśānagurudevapaddhati*, *paṭala* XXX; *Tantrasamuccaya*, *paṭala* II; *Suprabhedāgama*, chap. XXX; *Kāmikāgama*, *paṭala* XLIX; *Kāśyapaśilpa*, chapter XXV; *Śilparatna*, chap. XVI; The *Mānasāra* takes up this classification in an attempt to adapt it to a geographic repartition of a more recent date. – Cf. the translations of these passages in K. R. PISHAROTI, *Nāgara, drāviḍa*

and vesara, Indian Culture, vol. VI, No. I (1939) pp. 39 seq. and vol. VII, No. I (1940), pp. 73 seq. – Cf. also STELLA KRAMRISCH, *The Hindu Temple*, I, pp. 286–295, who adds to this list: *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* LVII et seq.; an inscription from Holal (Bellary district) published in the ARAS,SCE, 1915, pp. 49 and 90; the *Vāstuśāstra* and *Vaikhānasāgama* (VI, 6–7) of Southern India, etc.

104. The *Agnipurāṇa* CIV, 22, considers *nāgara* to be the same as *Lāṭa*, which denotes the Gujarāt where the curvilinear style abounds.

105. Other texts place it between the Vindhya mountains and Agastya.

106. *The Three Main Styles of Temple Architecture recognized by the Śilpa - śāstras*, BMGM, New Series, Gen. Sect., Vol. III (1934), pt. 1, pp. 22 et seq.

107. *Origin of Mediaeval Temple Styles*, Indian Culture, vol. VIII, 1941- 42, pp. 183ḍ190. – Numerous authors before them discussed this question at length. Fergusson had already divided mediaeval architecture into three styles, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Calukyan. Useful information can be found in P. BROWN, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)*, chap. XXII, pp. 133–137; STELLA KRAMRISCH, *op. cit.*, I, part IV, ii: The Curvilinear structure, pp. 205-225; GRAVELY and RAMACHANDRAN, *The Three Main Styles*, p. 7, make the amendment: '*Nāgara*... might have been anywhere North of the Drāvida country'. - Revived by B. ROWLAND, *Arts and Architecture in India*, London, 1953, p. 170. – Cf. too the important chapter on the Formation of the Traditional Temple Styles in HCIP, vol. V. *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 530–640.

108. S. KRAMRISCH, *op. cit.* I, p. 292, raises the same objections.

109. Cf. S. K. SARASWATI, *Temples at Pagan*, JGIS, vol. IX, 1942, pp. 5–28. – *Id. Abeyadana and Patothamya, two interesting temples at Pagan, ibid.*, vol. X, 1943, pp. 145–153.

110. N. K. BOSE, *Canons of Orissan Architecture*, Calcutta, 1932.

111. We do not believe that the origin of the *śikhara* lies in the leaf-covered bamboo huts of primitive times as a large number of authors have claimed. Not because we deny that the possibility exists but because, up to now, we have been unable to support this hypothesis with any real proof. The earlier types do not go back beyond the VIth century and not one of the earlier shapes can be really compared to it.

112. SARASWATI, *Origin of Mediaeval temple styles*, fn. 11. – Cf. also N. R. MEHTA, *The Genesis of the śikhara*, Rūpam, no. 13–14, 1923; R. CHANDA, *Beginnings of the śikhara of the nāgara (indo-aryan) Temples*, Rūpam, no. 17, 1924, pp. 2–6; G. SARKAR, *Notes on the History of the śikhara Temple*, Rūpam, no. 10, 1922, pp. 42-56.

113. *Temple Architecture in the Gupta Age*, JISOA, vol. VIII, pp. 146 158. Especially the Chapter entitled 'Art' in *The Struggle for Empire, loc. cit.*

114. Its date has given rise to much controversy and wavers between the VIIth and IXth centuries. Cf. *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 558.

115. Cf. R. D. BANERJI, *The Haihayas of Tripurī and their monuments, loc. cit.*

116. H. MARCHAL, *L'architecture comparée dans l'Inde et l'Extrême – Orient*, Paris, 1944, pp. 107, 114.

117. See how this idea is enlarged upon in KRAMRISCH, *op. cit.*, pp. 161 et. seq., and sepecially p. 171 where Mrs. Kramrisch rightly draws attention to the fact that in Burma temples are literally called caves (*ku* for skt. *guhā*).

118. *The Struggle for Empire*, chap. 'Art'.

119. O. C. GANGOLY, *The Mithuna in Indian Art*, Rūpam, no. 22–23, 1925, pp. 54 et seq. – T. BHATTAVHARYA, *Some Notes on the Mithuna in Indian Art*, Rūpam, 1926, no. 1, pp. 22 sq. – C. SIVARAMAMURTI, *Sanskrit Literature and Art, Mirrors of Indian Culture*, MASI, no. 73, 1955, pp. 13 et 55.

120. *Loc. cit.* p. 61. – In the same way T. BHATTACHARYA *loc. cit.*, p. 24, asked himself the same question without thinking about the erotic practices of these sects. On the other hand, B. S. UPADHYA, *Erotic Scenes on the Temples of Orissa*, JBHU, V, 1940, pp. 227-236, ascribes the eroticism of the Middle Ages sculptures to the Vajirayāva Siddha. The comparison made by M. K. C. PANIGRAHI, *Obscene Sculptures of Orissan Temples*, PIHC, VIII, pp. 94–97, runs on the same lines. He sees in these erotic scenes the influence of the Tantrism of Nepāl and Tibet, and suggests that they served to test initiates. It seems to us that the theory held by Dr. Goetz and Mr. P. Chandra is, as far as history goes, more convincing.

121. H. GOETZ, *loc. cit.*

122. It is interesting to note the use made of the surcingle by Candella horsemen (plate cxviii); it was a part of their harness and seems to have been in regular use only during the Middle Ages. We must however drow attention to the fact that a surcingle can be seen on the low-relief of the Mathurā School (Museum of Lucknow no. J-535) but this seems to be an exeptional case.

123. AR,ASI, II, pp. 16 ss.

124. *Ibid.*, p. 55–69.

125. R. D. BANERJI, *op. cit.*, p. 67 et 115, pl. lvii.

126. J. FERGUSSON, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1910, II, pp. 51 ss.

127. AR,ASI, 1916-16, p. 18.

128. P. C. MUKERJI, *Report on the antiquarian remains in the Lalitpur district*, Roorkee, 1899, pl. 39.

129. AR,ASI, IX, p. 60.

130. *Ibid.*

131. R. C. KAK, *Ancient Monuments of Kāśmīr*, London, 1933, p. 64.

132. *Id. Ibid.*, pp. 64 ss.

133. A. FOUCHER, AGBG, vol. I, fig. 46.

134. *Rājataraṅgiṇī* by Kalhaṇa, translated by M. A. STEIN, chap. V, p. 76.

135. AR,ASI, II, p. 421.

136. O. C. GANGOLY, *The Art of the Chandelas*, Allahabad, 1957, p. 34.

137. AR,ASI, II, p. 421. – O. C. GANGOLY, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

138. *Epigraphia Indica*, I, pp. 129, 135.

139. AR,ASI, II, p. 422.
140. S. K. MITRA, *The early rulers of Khajurāho*, fig. 6. -- O. C. GANGOLY, *op. cit.*, pl. 32.
141. AR,ASI, II, p. 422.
142. AR,ASI, XXI, p. 62.
143. *Ibid.*, III, p. 422–423.
144. H. PARMENTIER, *L'art architectural Hindou*, Paris, 1948, p. 54.
145. *Epigraphia Indica*, I, p. 121.
146. P. BROWN, *Indian Architecture* (*Buddhist and Hindu*), Bombay, 1949, pl. xlvii.
147. JASB, 48 (1879) pl. xvii.
148. AR,ASI, II, pp. 427 ss.
149. St. KRAMRISCH, *The Hindu Temple*, I, pp. 121 ss.
150. *Epigraphia Indica*, V, p. 149.
151. B. L. DHAMA and S. C. CHANDRA, *Khajurāho*, p. 24.
152. AR,ASI, X, p. 90.
153. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII, p. 237.
154. C. SIVARAMAMURTI, *Geographical and Iconographical factors in Indian Iconography*, Ancient India, No. 6, 1950, pl. xiv (c).
155. AR,ASI, II, p. 427.
156. *Epigraphia Indica*, I, pp. 121 ss.
157. AR,ASI, II, p. 431.
158. This statue now belongs to the collection sheltered at Jardine Museum of Khajurāho.
159. AR,ASI, X, p. 16.
160. V. SMITH, JASB, XLVIII part 1, 1879, p. 285.
161. AR,ASI, II, pp. 432 ss.
162. *Epigraphia Indica*, I, pp. 135 ss.
163. *Ibid.*, pp. 135–136.
164. AR,ASI, II, pp. 432 ss.
165. *Ibid.*, pp. 436 ss.
166. HCIP, V, pl. xxxi fig. 64.
167. E. HAVELL, *Handbook of Indian Art*, pl. xviii A.
168. AR,ASI, II, pp. 437 ss.
169. H. GOETZ, *The Historical Background*, pp. 35–37.
170. *Id. Ibid.*, p. 45.

171. P. BROWN, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)* pl. lxxxvii.

172. P. CHANDRA, *The Kaula-Kāpālika cults of Khajurāho*, pp. 98–107.

173. *Id. Ibid.* – H. GOETZ, *loc. cit.* – Also E. SHARPE, *The Secrets of the Kaula Circle*, London 1937.

174. J. Ph. VOGEL, *The Woman and tree or Śālabhañjikā in Indian litterature and art*, Acta orientalia, VII, pp. 201 ss.

175. S. KRAMRISCH, *The Hindu Temple*, II, pl. xviii.

176. C. SIVARAMAMURTI, *Geographical and Chronological factors in Indian Iconography*, Ancient India, no. 6, 1950.

177. J. N. BANERJEA, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta 1956, p. 561.

178. J. N. BANERJEA, *op. cit.*, p. 563.

179. *Id. Ibid.* – G. RAO, *Elements of Hindu Iconography.*

180. C. SIVARAMAMURTI, *loc. cit.*

181. *Id. Ibid.*

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Arts Asiatiques, Paris.
ABIA	Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology (Kern Institute), Leiden.
ABORI	Annuals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
AGBG	Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra, Foucher, Paris 1905, 1918.
AI	Ancient India. Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.
AR	Asiatic Researches.
AR,ASI	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Calcutta.
ARAS,SCE	Annual Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent, Southern Circle for Epigraphy.
AR,IE	Annual Reports of Indian Epigraphy.
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India, Calcutta, Delhi.
BMGM	Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, Madras.
EI	Epigraphia Indica, Delhi.
HCIP	History and Culture of the Indian People, Bombay.
IA	Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
IC	Indian Culture, Calcutta.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
IS,ASI	Imperial Series of the Archaeological Survey of India.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, Conn. (U.S.A.).
JASB	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
JASR	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
JBHU	Journal of Benares Historical University.
JGIS	Journal of the Greater India Society, Calcutta.
JISOA	Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.
MASI	Memoirs of the Archeological Survey of India.
PIHC	Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta.
RMR	Rājputana Museum Reports.
RŪPAM	A Journal of Oriental Art.

ABU-RIHÂN, transl. by REINAUD, *Fragments arabes*, p. 106.

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GLOSSARY OF SANSKRIT WORDS

abhaya	peace, security, 'absence of fear'
adhiṣṭhāna	archit: socle; in the northern Nāgara architecture: the substantial masonry terrace on which all the complex of the temple rests. It is called in other parts of the country '*jagati*'
advaita	'non dualisme', philosophical system
akṣapaṭalika	a man in the civil service who is the depository of legal documents
akula	not of noble or eminent family or race; name of Śiva
āmalaka	the fruit of Emblica Myrobolan. Archit: ornament in the shape of a ribbed cushion, used as crowing ornament and part of the *mastaka* or an element which rounds the corners of the *śikhara* (skt. *āmalaka-śila* or *amalasāraka*)
amātya	a companion of a king; minister or a civil servant of high rank.
amīr or haṁvīra	muslim chief.
aṅga-śikhara	archit: part of a *śikhara*. Miniature replicas of *śikhara*, placed around the main one.
antarāla	archit: vestibule (before the *garbhagṛha*).
apsaras	secondary female divinity. They are the celebrated nymphs of Indra's heaven.
ardha-maṇḍapa	archit: porch in front of the *maṇḍapa*.
argha	offerings.
āsana	a sitting posture.
aṣṭadaśaka	in administration a group of eighteen villages.
Aṣṭadikpāla	the eight great Deva, guardians of the four chief and four minor quarters. According to the early epic literature their names are as follow: Sūrya, Candra, Vāyu, Agni, Yama, Varuṇa, Indra, Kubera.
Asura	an evil spirit; often regarded as demons of the first order in perpetual hostility with the gods.
aśvamedha	royal horse - sacrifice (imperial rite).
aśvattha	a variety of timber; Ficus Religiosa.
aṭavika	civil servant in charge of the forests and 'savage' tribes.
avatāra	'descent'; incarnation of a god, especialy of Viṣṇu.
ayaskāra	an artisan who works the iron.
bāḍa	archit: the cube of the sanctum cella before the part called *gaṇḍi* starts.
bālakavi	young poet.
bandha	to fasten.
bañdhanā	junction, connection. Archit: horizontal mouldings between the rows of sculpture of the *jaṅghā*.
baraṇḍa	archit: section demarcating the *bāḍa* from the *gaṇḍi*.
beki	neck. Archit: part of the *śikhara* the recessed portion of the *mastaka* (skrt *kaṇṭha*).
bhakta	adept of *bhakti*, devotee to a personal god.
bhakti	devotion as a religious principle or means of salvation.

bhāṇḍāgarika	treasurer (may be same functions as those of *kosādhikārādhipati*).
bhaṅga	bend, flexion of the body.
bhaṭṭāraka	a great lord; venerable or worshipped person.
bhoga	enjoyment; sexual enjoyment.
bhukti	land.
bhūmi	the earth, storey. Archit: false storey or false tiers.
bhūmiṣparśamudrā	*mudrā* calling or touching the earth.
bhūpa	prince.
biruda	surname of a king.
brāhman	member of the sacerdotal class; later the predominating first cast.
brāhmapuri	city; village.
caitya	sanctuary.
caitya-window	archit: an architectural motif in the shape of a dormer-window.
cajjā	archit: an overhanging eave or cornice.
cakra	the wheel; a discus, or sharp circular missile weapon (esp. that of Viṣṇu).
caṇḍi	sanctuary, tower, the whole complex of the buildings of a temple (Java).
candra	the moon.
candraśilā	moonstone or the semicircular doorstep before a shrine or a temple.
caturmukha liṅga	a four-faced liṅga.
chattra	a parasol (ensign of royal power).
citrakāra	painter.
darśana	seeing, sight; also used to name the six philosophical systems.
deva	god.
devadāsī	a temple dancing-girl; also a prostitute.
dhammilla	a very elaborate head-dress, with flowers, pearls and jewels.
dharmādhikāra	professional clerk, perhaps chief officer of justice.
dharmalekhi	a man in the civil service in charge of the juridical affairs; legislator.
dhotī	(hindi) cloth worn by a man around the waist.
dhvaja	better *dhvaja-stambha*: flagstaff, a pillar decorated with banner at the top.
digvijaya	territorial conquest which grants the imperial title.
Dikpāla	"supporters of the regions" see Aṣṭadikpāla.
divya	'celestial being' who identifies itself with the divinity.
drāviḍa	archit: type of temple current in the south, evidently in the Drāviḍa country.
dupaṭṭā	(hindi) part of feminine attire; long pleated scarf worn in different ways.
durgādhikārin	the governor of a fortress.
dūta	messager, ambassador; a title of honour.
dvādaśaka	in administration a group of twelve villages.
ekacchattra	having only one (royal) umbrella, ruled by one king solely; indicating the universal king.

gadā	club; iconogr: weapon which is an emblem of Viṣṇu.
gana	class of demi-gods considered as Śiva's attendants.
gandharva	they live in the sky, prepare the heavenly *soma* juice for the gods, they are skilled in medicine, regulate the asterisms, are fond of women, and those who live in Indra's heaven, are singers and musicians.
gaṇḍi	trunk of a tree from the roots to the beginning of the branches, subsequently trunk of human body. Archit: the *śikhara*.
ganthiāla	symbolic knot. Archit: the point at which two buildings meet.
garbhagṛha	cella, sanctuary of a temple.
gaurī-paṭṭa	Gaurī's plate (on which is placed the *liṅga* of Śiva).
ghaṇṭā	bell.
ghāṭ	bathing place, steps by a river-side cf *ghāṭ* of Banaras (skt. *ghaṭṭa*).
gotra	race, lineage, family.
grāma	village.
hala	plough.
haṃsa	a goose; the vehicle of Brahmā.
hamvīra	muslim chief cf *amīr*.
hasta	hand; icon: hand-gesture.
Indratva	kingship.
jagamohana	the name of a quare structure, distinguished by a pyrimidal roof and usually preceeding the sanctum. Typical in Orissan architecture.
jaṅghā	the shank (from the ankle to the knee). Archit: central zone of the *bāḍa* between the *pābhāga* and the *baraṇḍa*.
jaṭā	twisted locks of hair (as worn by ascetics, by Śiva and persons in mourning).
jaṭā-mukuṭa	diadem or head-dress made of twisted locks of hair.
jīva	life; living; alive.
kadamba	archit: the pyramidal superstructure composed of narrow horizontal tiers.
kakṣāsana	archit: the sloping balustrade of the balconies (with seats inside all along).
kalaśa	a water-pot, important and auspicious object in Indian religion and ritual. Archit: part of the crowning elements of the *śikhara*.
kāliṅga	archit: type of temple in use in Kaliṅga (country from the Coromandel coast to the south of Orīsā).
kamaṇḍalu	water-vessel, or water-pot; iconogr: special emblem of various deities like Śiva, Brahmā, Pārvatī etc.
kaṇi	archit: the *kaṇi* is formed by the intersection of two arcs of circles in order to form an excessively salient arris.
kapāla-vanitā	very likely an ascetic woman who lived in concubinage with ascetics practising magic.
karaṇika	a civil servant in charge of the records.

kaula	a worshipper of *śakti* according to the left-hand ritual. Also the doctrine and practices of the left-hand ritual.
kavi	poet.
kavicakravartin	king of the poets, chief poet.
kavīndra	another title to design the head of the poets.
kāyastha	scribes or writers.
khapūrī	skull of the head. Archit: portion of the upper part of the *śikhara*. It is a bell-shape member very similar to an unfolded umbrella.
kīrtimukha	grotesque mask.
koḥl	(arab) kohl, black collyrium.
koṇaka-paga	archit: corner paga which curves and rounds the sharp vertical arris of the *gaṇḍi*.
kośādhikārādhipati	superintendent of Treasury.
kośādhipati	same as *kośādhikārādhipati*.
kṣatriya	warrior, military or reigning order, and at later times second caste
kṣitipa	king.
kula	a noble or eminent family or race; in Tantrism one of the rites observed in the worship of *śakti*; one of the highest ways of achieving a state of readiness.
kuśa	sacred herb; Poa Cynosuroides.
liṅga	phallus. Symbol of Śiva.
mahā	great, big.
mahāmaṇḍala	archit: transept.
mahāmaṇḍapa	archit: great assembly hall before the main shrine of temples.
mahānāccanī	chief court female dancer.
mahāpratihāra	the great *pratihāra*.
mahārājaguru	royal teacher (brahmanical teacher of Vedic lore).
mahārājaputra	the heir of the throne.
mahāsaciva	the great *saciva*.
mahāttara	the oldest, most respectable man of a village.
mahīpāla	king.
mahīpati	another nomination for a king or prince.
makara	a sea monster.
makara-toraṇa	archit: archway decorated with a *makara*.
maṇḍala	district.
maṇḍapa	archit: assembly-hall, usually following the *ardhamaṇḍapa*.
mantrimukhya	prime minister.
mantrin	minister, a king's counsellor. Same as mantri (hindi).
marakata	an emerald.
mastaka	head. Archit: upper part of the *śikhara*, the summit of which is made up of several parts.
mithuna	amorous couple.
mudrā	hand-gesture in dancing, drama and religion, used in order to express an idea.

mukhaliṅga — the *liṅga* on which the face of Śiva is imprinted.
mukuṭa — head-dress, diadem, crown.
mūlamañjarī — archit: principal śikhara.
muni — saint, sage, hermit (especially one who has taken the vow of silence).

nāga — serpent.
nāgara — archit: type of temple in use at the northern part of India (between the Himālaya and the Vindhya Mounts
nartakī — a female dancer; actress.
nāṭa-maṇḍapa — archit: dancing-hall; in later times being part of a temple.
navagraha — the nine planets which occupy a very important place in the religious life of the Indians and are still worshipped especially in Eastern India. They are the follow ones: Ravi (Sun), Soma (Moon), Maṅgala (Mars), Budha (Mercury) Bṛhaspati (Jupiter), Śukra (Venus,) Śani (Saturn), Rāhu and Ketu (the ascending and descending nodes of the moon).
nāyikā — noble lady, mistress, courtezan.
nirandhāra prāsāda — archit: plan of a temple whithout a circumambulatory passage around the cella.
nirjara — imperishable, perennial.
nṛpa — who protects men; king, prince.
nyagrodha — a variety of timber; banian; Ficus Indica.
nyāya — philosophical system, one of the six *darśana*.

Oṁ — a solemn and sacred exclamation; may be uttered at the beginning and end of a reading of the Veda or previously to any prayer.

pābhāga or pāda-bhāga — *pāda* (foot) *bhāga* (portion). Archit: the plinth before the *jaṅghā*, the lowermost part of the wall (in Oṛīsā).
padma — a lotus (esp. the flower of the lotus-plant Nelumbium Speciosum).
padmāsana — a particular posture of the body in religious meditation.
paga — archit: the corresponding section of the *ratha*, on the body of the *gaṇḍi*.
pañcapattra-torana — five looped arches.
pañcaratha — five *ratha*.
pañca-ratna — five jewels.
pañcāyatana — archit: called also *pañca-ratna* (five jewels). On the same terrace one main temple and four subsidiary shrines at the corners, arranged in quincunx.
pañcela — in administration a group of five villages.
paṇḍita — learned, wise
paṭṭalā — local community
pīḍha — archit: receding tiers.
pisṭā — archit: pedestal.
pītalahāra — brass-worker.
plakṣa — a variety of wood (timber), the indian fig-tree; Ficus Infectoria.
pradakṣiṇā — circumambulation from left to right of a person or object, as a kind of worship.

pradakṣiṇā-patha archit: circumambulatory passage.
pratihāra chamberlain.
pratiloma low; born in the inverse order of the classes.
pūjā daily rite in front of statue of a good or a sacred object.
purāṇa belonging to ancient or old times. Name of a class of sacred works. The chief Purāṇa are 18.
pūrṇa-ghaṭa a pot filled with water as auspicious sign of plenty.
purohita brāhman in charge of religious ceremonies in the palace.
pustaka book; special emblem of Brahmā and Sarasvatī, usually represented in art as a palm leaf.

rāhā archit: the central paga.
rāhāpaga archit: vertical salient on each front of the *gaṇḍi* carrying up the projection of the central niche.
rāja king.
rājñī queen.
ratha or rathaka archit: vertical sections of the wall created by the butress-like projections in the middle of each face.
rāūta (*rājaputra*) an official title.
rekhā śikhara same as *śukanāsā śikhara.*
ṛṣi wise man; according to the tradition the hymns of the Veda were revealed to them.
rūpakāra an artisan who embosses the stone; sculptor.

saciva minister in charge of several ministries (cf. *mantrimukhya*).
sāgara (sāgar) ocean; applied to a piece of water in the surroundings of a temple.
sakhī friend; a lady in attendance.
śākta relating to the *śakti*; the *śākta* form one of the principal sects of the Hindus, their tenets being contained in the Tantra.
śakti the active and energetic aspect of a god under its female personification.
śālabhañjikā a woman who plucks into a *śala* tree; in sculpture 'statue': a woman beside a tree (later, a decorative female figure without a tree).
sāmanta a vassal; feudatory prince; chief of a district.
Saṃhitā 'collections' generally in verses, and containing mainly hymns, prayers and ritual formulas. The *Saṃhitā* are 4.
sāṁkhya philosophical system, one of the six *darśana*
samrāj universal or supreme ruler.
samrājya universal or supreme power.
saṃsāra transmigration.
saṃvat a year; in later times especially of the Vikrama era (beginning in the 58 B.C.).
saṅdhāna-vigraha same as *sāndhivigrahika.*
sāndhāra prāsāda archit: plan of a temple in which a circumambulatory passage, runs around the cella where the image of the God is enshrined.
sāndhivigrahika minister who decides upon peace and war.

saṅghārāma	monastery.
śaṅkha	conch.
saptaratha	seven *ratha*.
śārdūla	a 'tiger', a 'lion'; a fabulous animal; leogryph.
senāpati	the general of an army; minister, head of military and foreign affairs.
siddhi	accomplishment; the acquisition of supernatural powers by magical means.
śikhara	tower.
śilparatna	study giving regulations on aesthetics.
śilpaśāstra	particular class of works on any mechanical or fine art, as architecture, etc.
śilpin	artisan, craftsman, artist.
śirṣa	bracket-capital.
śrīvatsa	very ancient symbol. Appears on the chest of representations of Viṣṇu.
stūpa	archit: originally a funeral tumulus. A Buddhist monument generally of a pyramidal or dome-like form and erected over sacred relics of Buddha, or on spots consecrated as the scenes of his acts.
stūpika or stūpī	archit: a crowning element of the *śikhara* of a domical form.
sūdhā	lime plaster.
sūdhāśilā	plaster.
śūdra	lowest of the four classes.
śukanāsā śikhara	archit: tower 'curved like the beak of a parrot'.
śūla	any sharp or pointed instrument; dart, lance, pike. (esp. the trident of Śiva).
surasundarī	a beautiful deity; a lovely celestial female.
sūtradhāra	rule or thread-holder; an architect; also a carpenter.
Tantra	doctrine, rule, theory; a class of works teaching magical and mystical formularies, mostly in the form of dialogues between Śiva and Durgā and said to treat of 5 subjects: 1. the creation. 2. the destruction of the world. 3. the worship of the Gods. 4. the attainment of all objects, esp. of the 6 superhuman faculties. 5. the four modes of union with the suprime spirit by meditation.
tapas	penance, bodily mortification possibly in connection with heat, fire.
tapasvin	ascetic, practising religious austerities; adept of the *tapas*.
ṭhakkura	man of a high rank.
tīrtha	ford, especially a sacred one; sacred pool.
Tīrthaṅkara	'ford-makers'; the twenty-four teachers of Jainism.
toraṇa	archit: archway.
triśūla	trident.
triśūla-hasta	hand bearing a trident (Śiva).
uccakāra	an artisan who engraves or imprints the metal (EI).
uḍumbara	variety of timber; Ficus Glomerata.

upāsaka	servant, worshipper, follower.
ūruśṛṅga	same as *aṅga-śikhara*.
vāhana	vehicle.
vaidagdhī-viśvakarman	teacher of arts and technics.
vaiṣṇava	in relation with Viṣnu; adept of Viṣṇu.
vajra	thunderbolt.
vajralepa	glue cement.
vanamālā	garland of wild flowers; garland of Kṛṣṇa.
vārāṭa	archit: type of temple in use in the province of Berār.
vāṭikā	gardens.
veni	a single braid of hair allowed to fall on the back.
vesara	archit: type of temple ascribed to the country between the Vindhya Mountains and the river Kṛṣṇa.
veśyākumārī	prostitute.
veśyā-vyasana	prostitution.
vidyādhara	'possessor of knowledge' kind of supernatural beings or inferior deities inhabiting the regions between the earth and sky. For that very reason they are called 'Flying Deva'.
vihāra	originally monasteries for Buddhist monks; later a dwelling, a habitation for gods and monks.
vijñānin	a skilful artist.
vinā	a stringed instrument like the greek harp or lyre.
vīra	a brave or eminent man; hero.
viṣaya	district.
viśisa	administrative post.
vismaya	astonishment and wonder.
vismaya-hasta	gesture meaning *vismaya*.
vitarka	reflection.
yajñopavīta	the sacred thread.
yaksa	a class of supernatural beings attendant on Kuvera, the god of wealth.
yakṣiṇī or yakṣī	a female *yakṣa*. Wife of Kuvera.
yoga	concentration of the thoughts, abstract contemplation; a very ancient training consisting in a complete control of the spirit and the body; one of the six *darśana*.
yogāsana	a mode of sitting suited to profound meditation in which the knees are attached by a bond.
yogin	an adept of the *yoga*; initiated in the *yoga*.
yoginī	feminine adept of the *yoga* Tantric divinity.
ʒamindar	(hindi) at first tax-collectors; later landlords.

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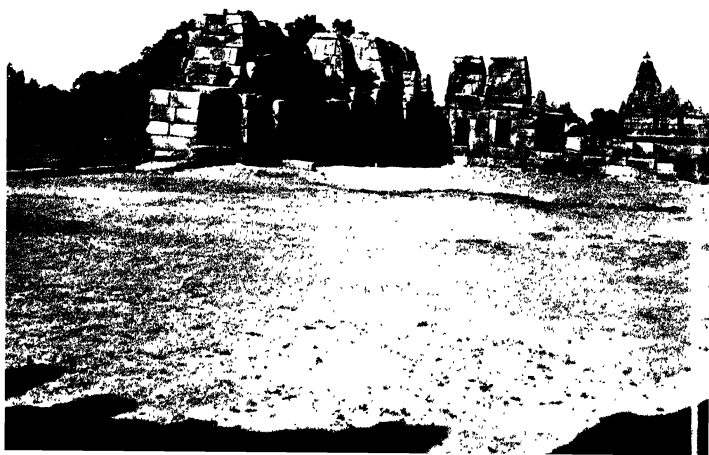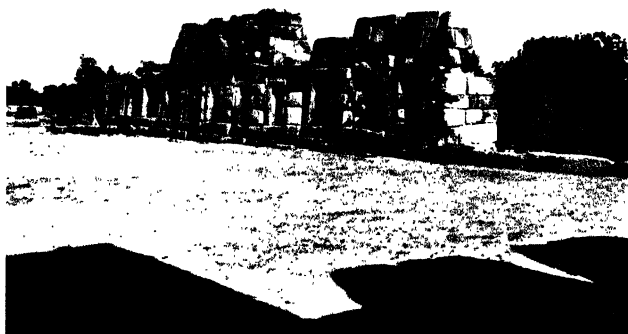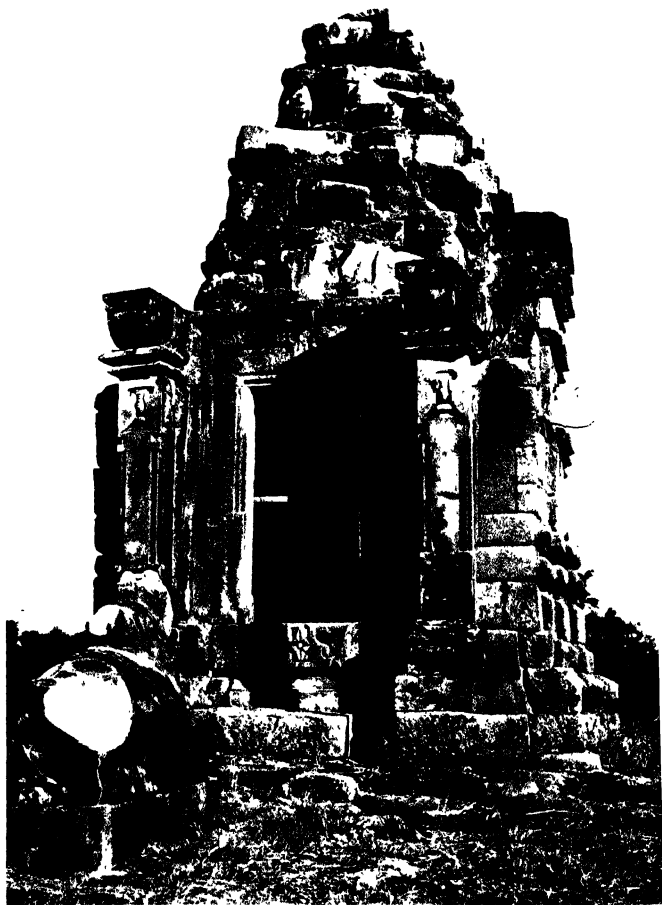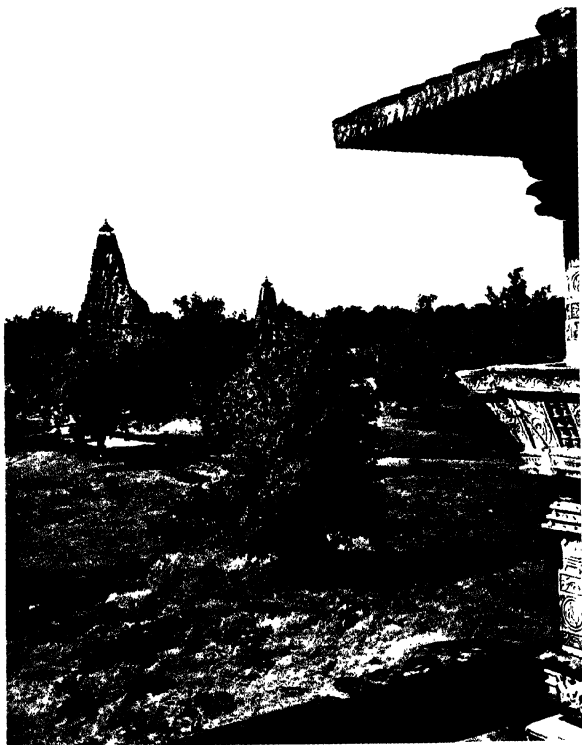
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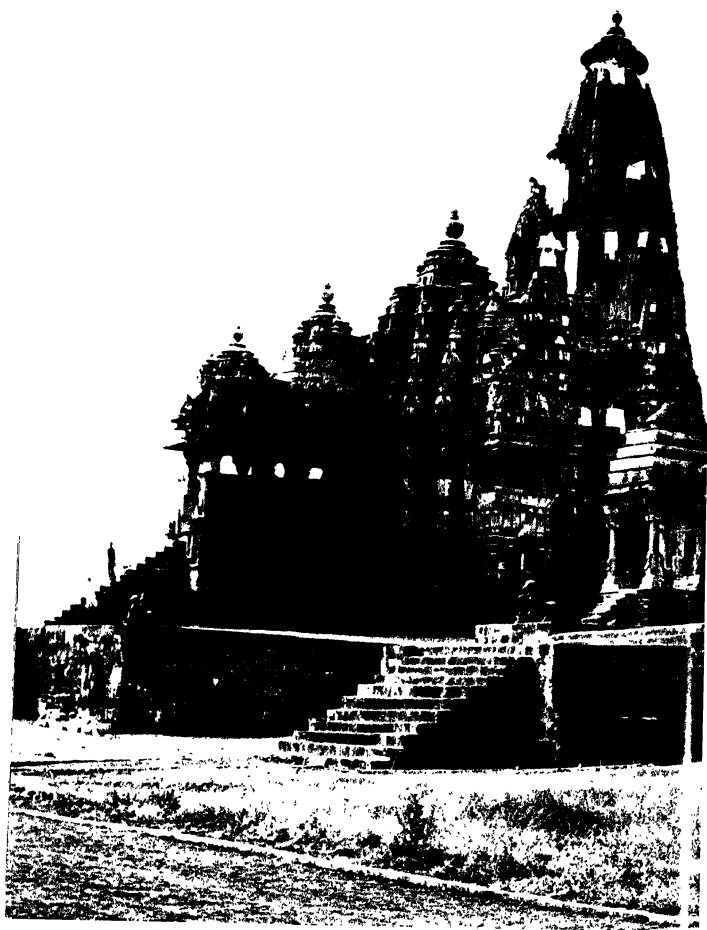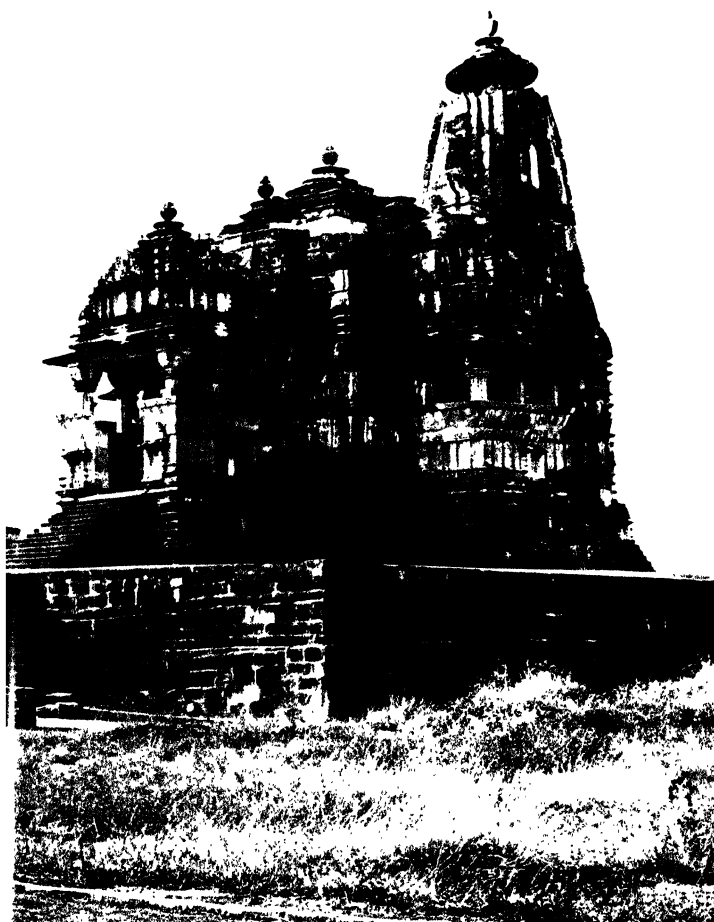
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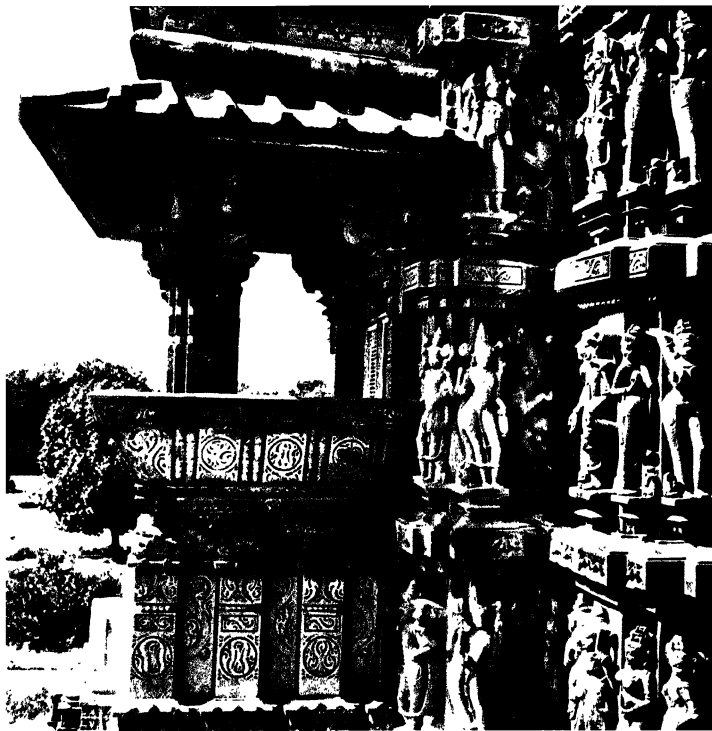
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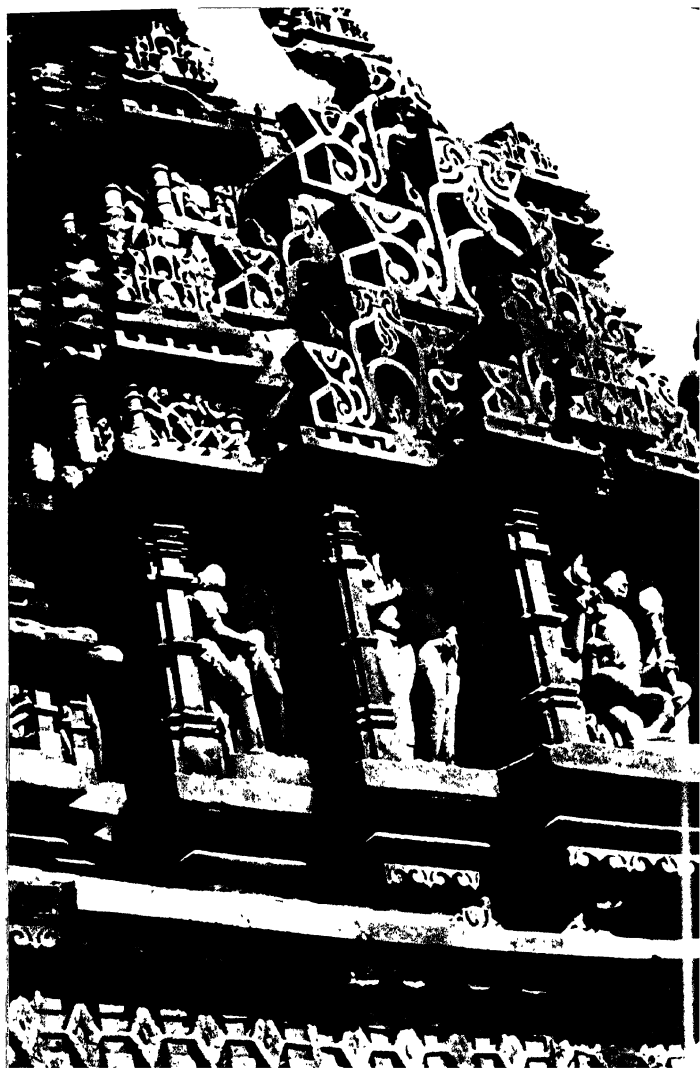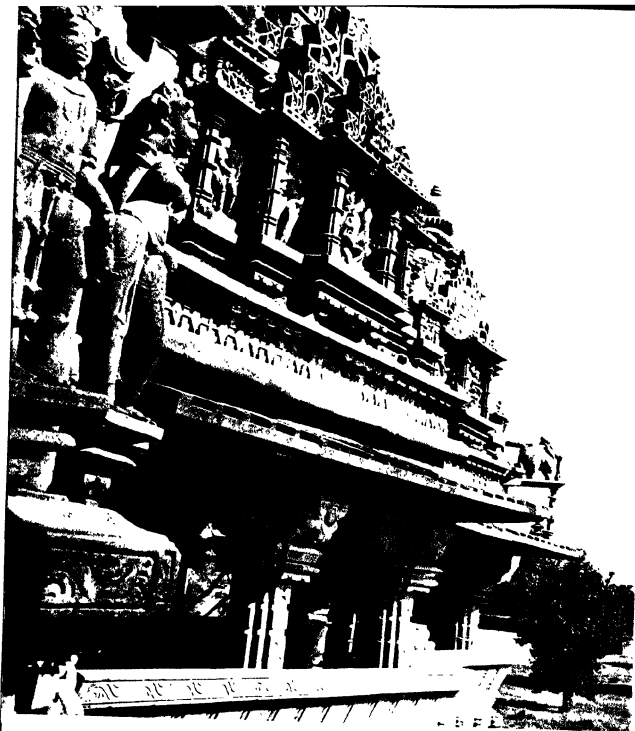
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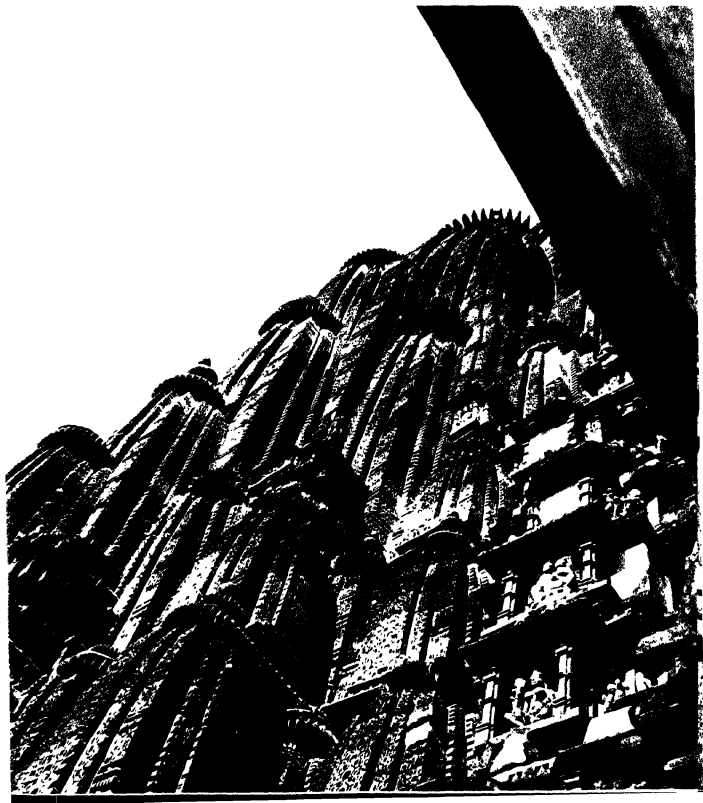
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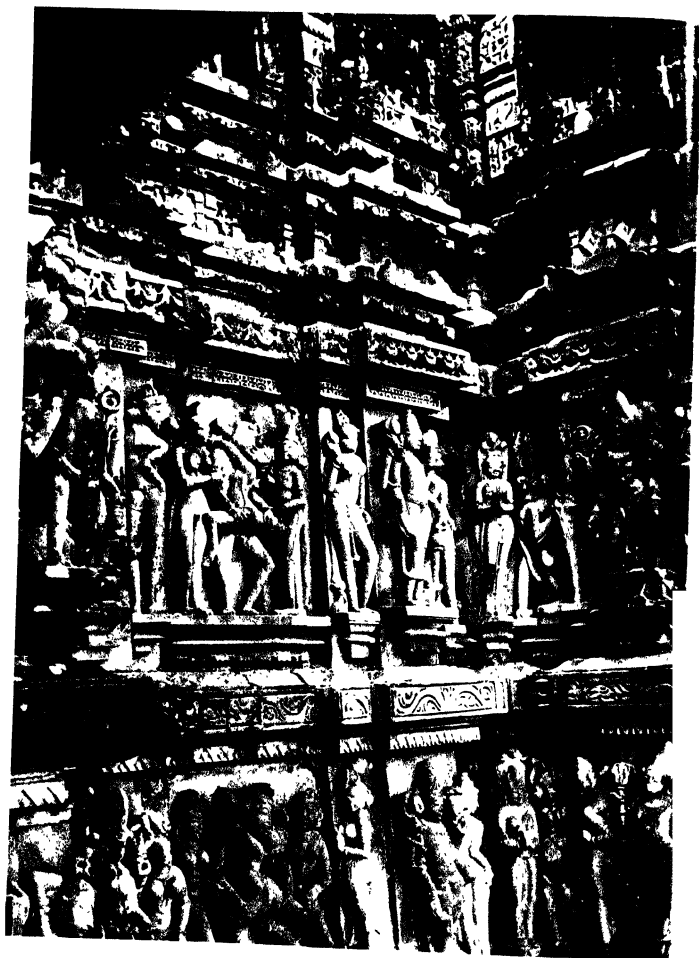
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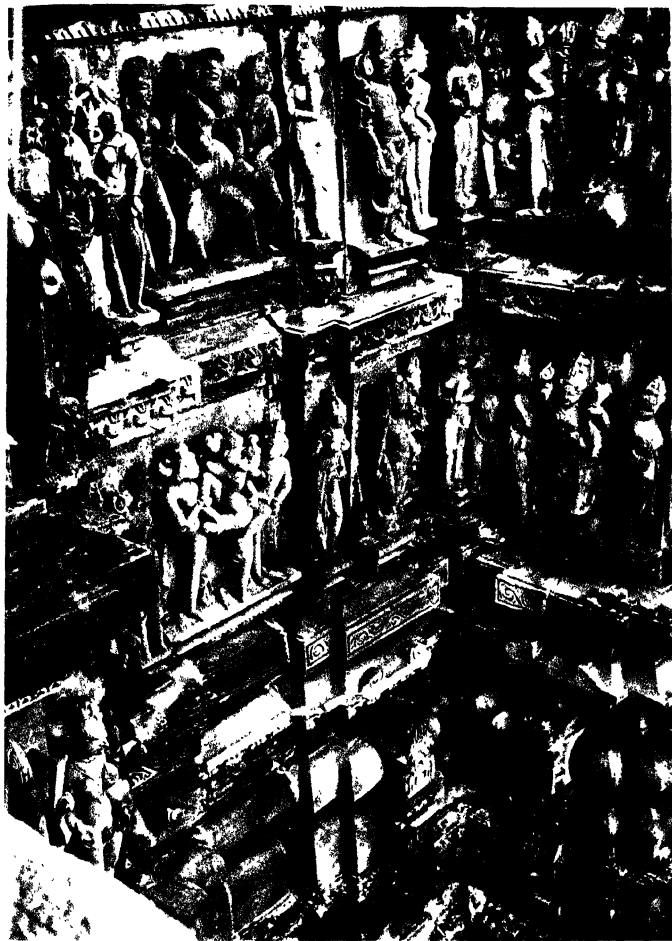
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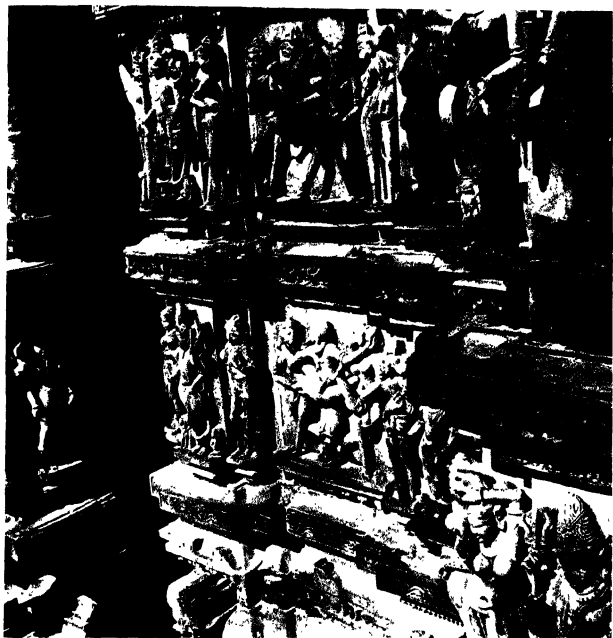
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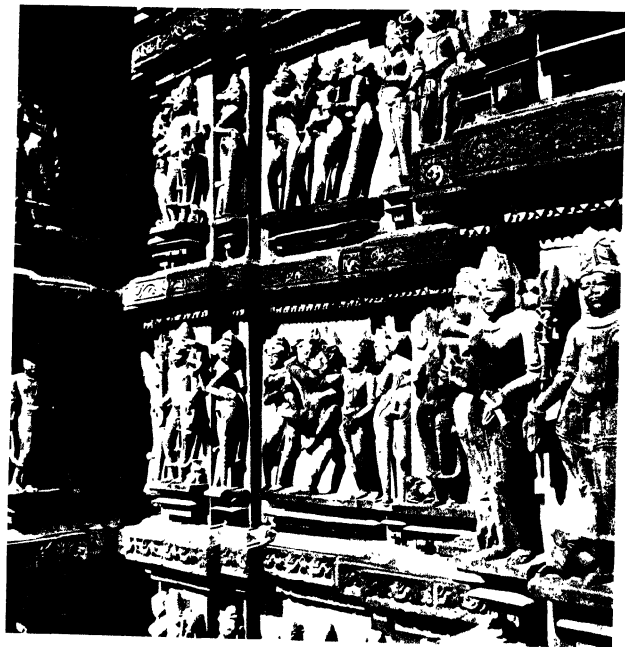
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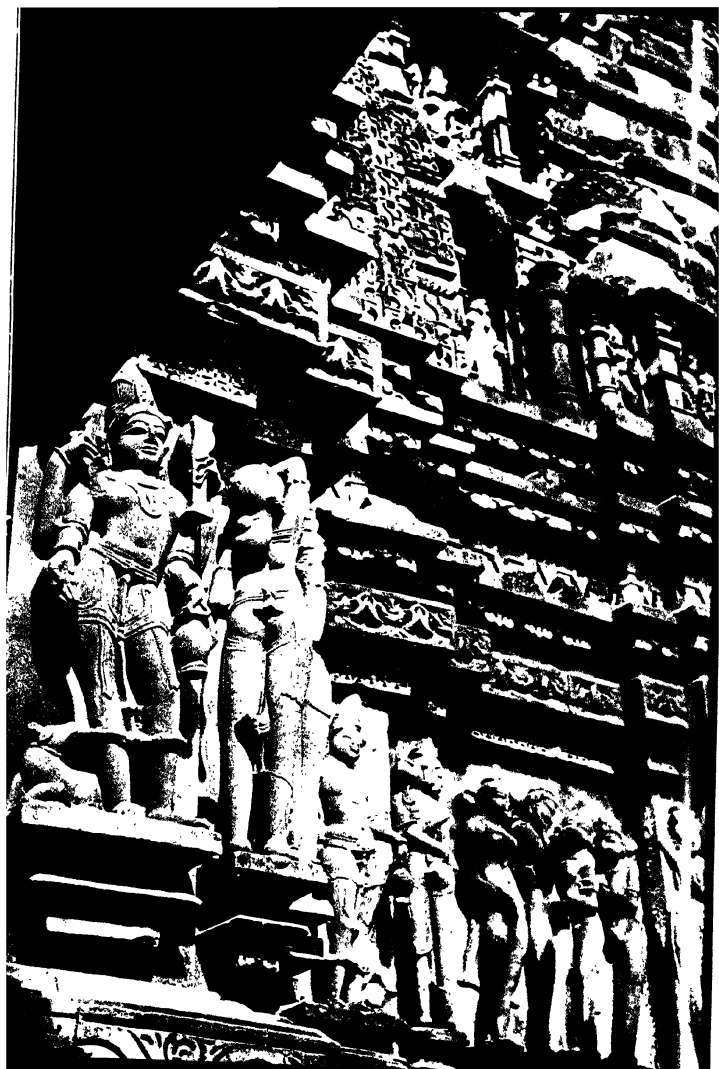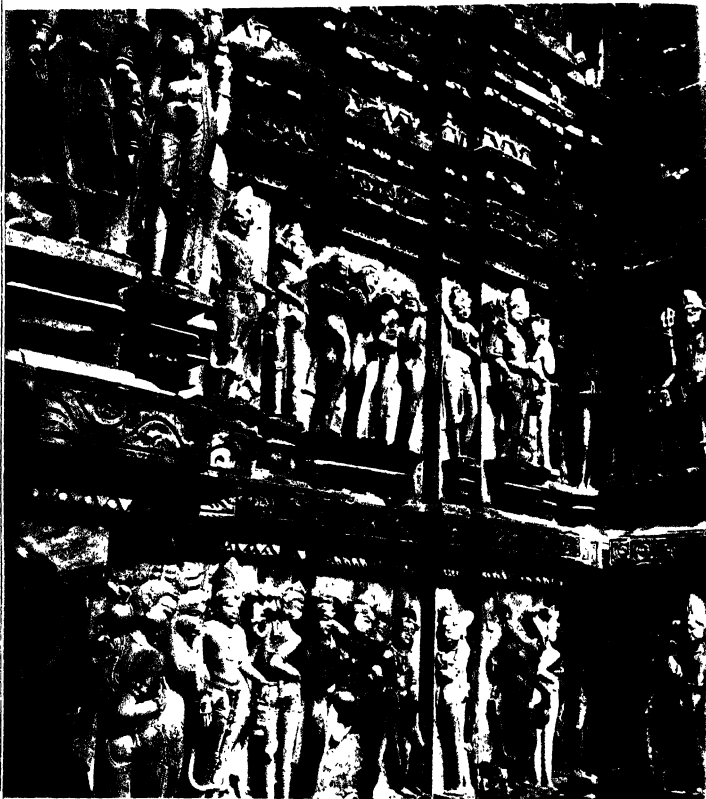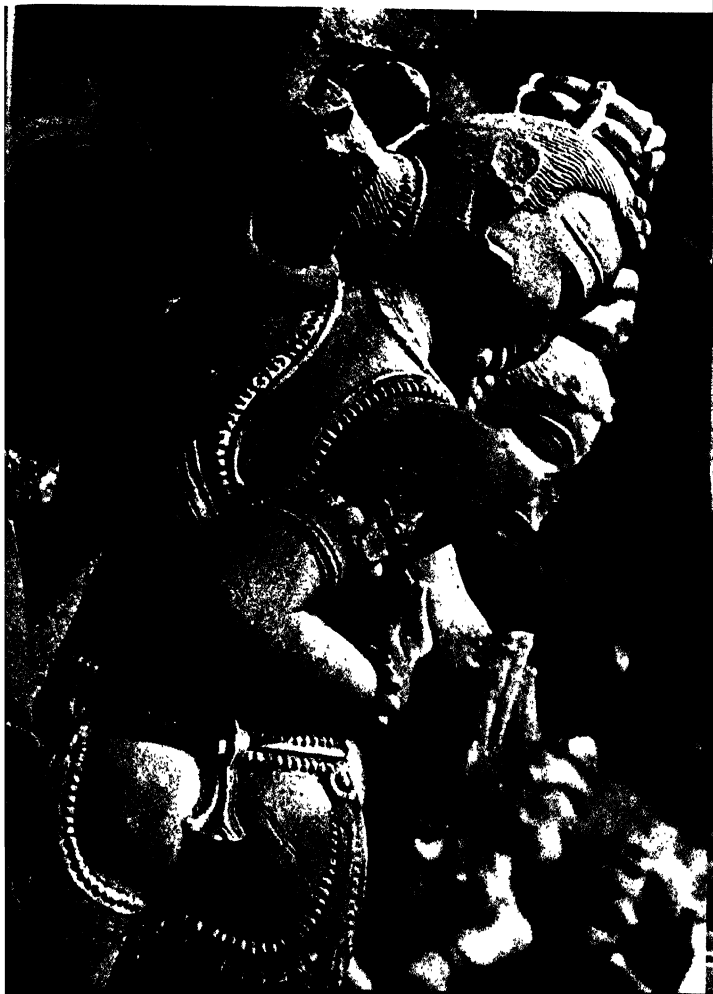
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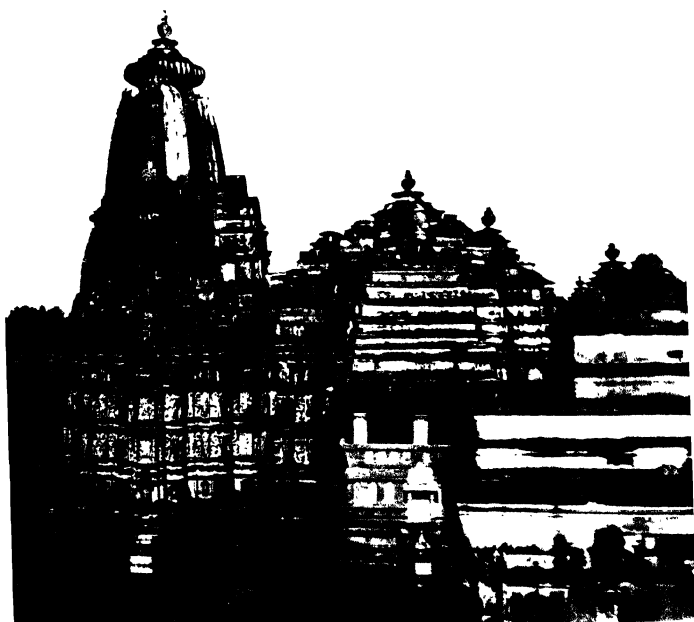
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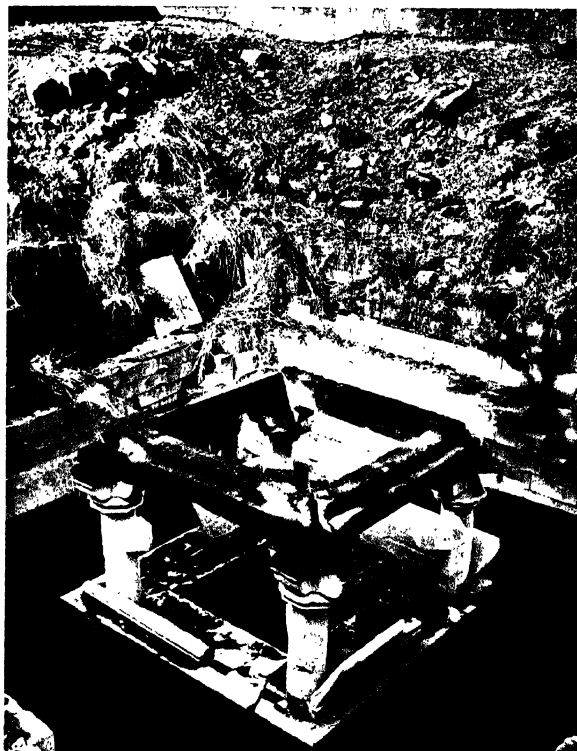
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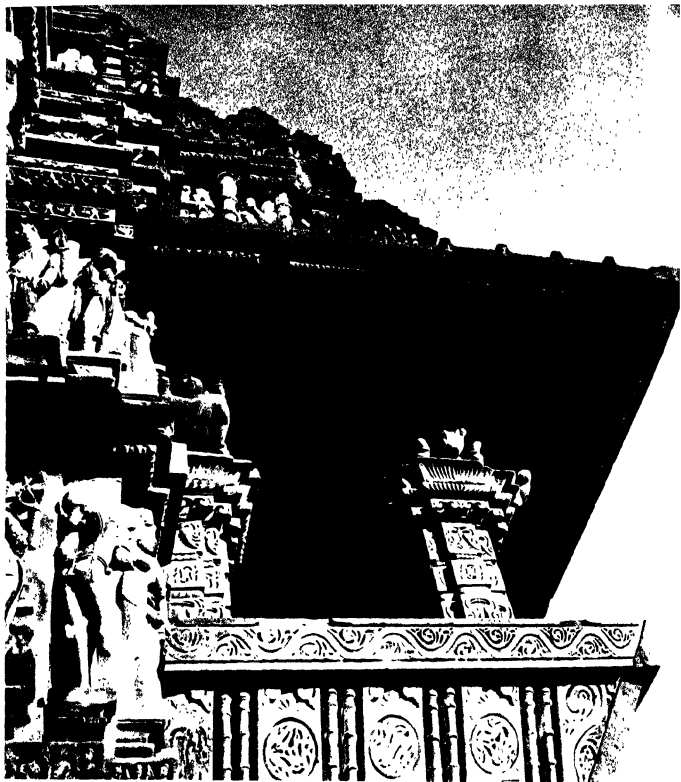
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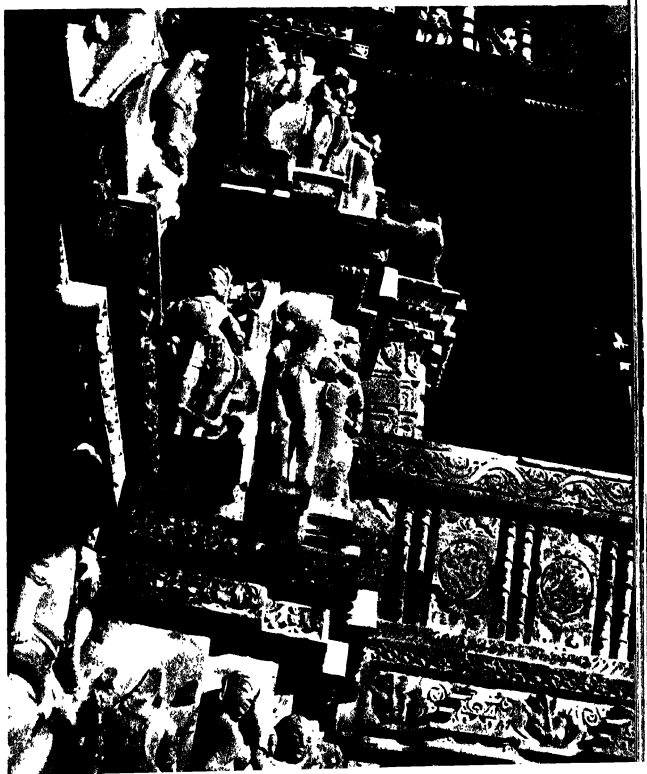
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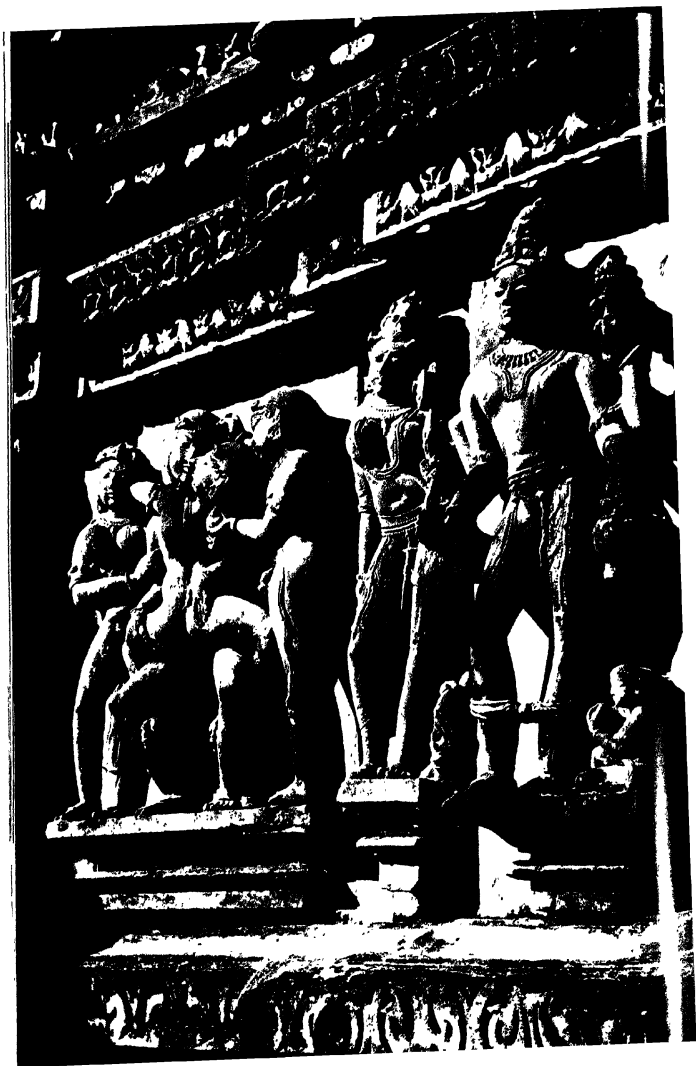
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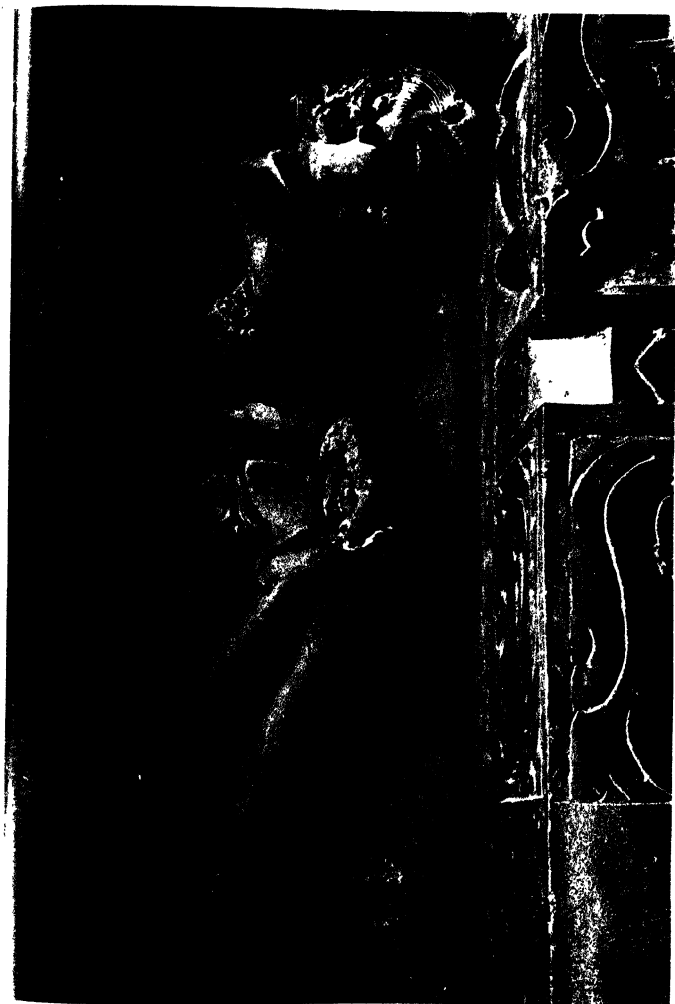
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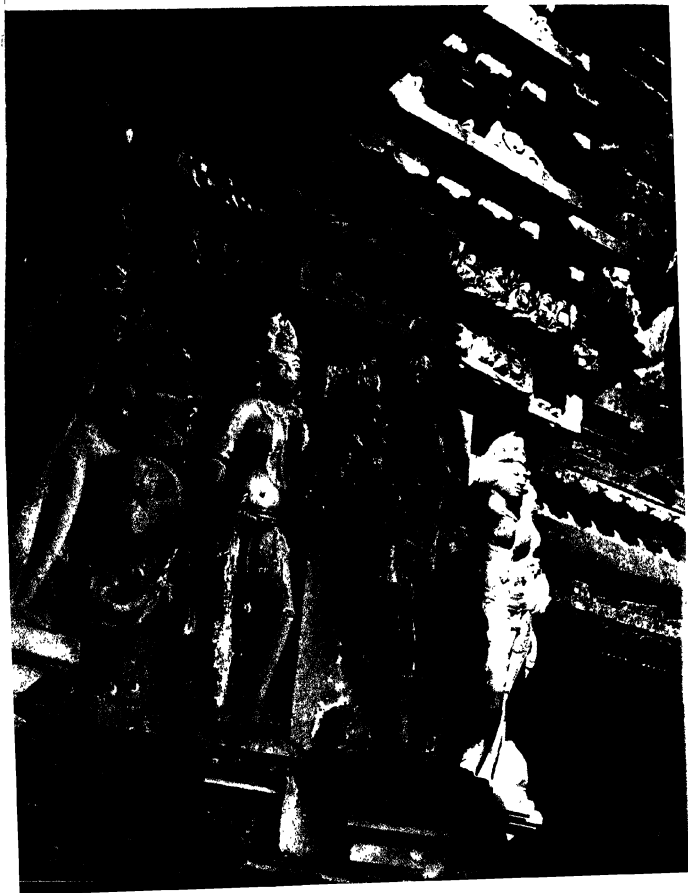
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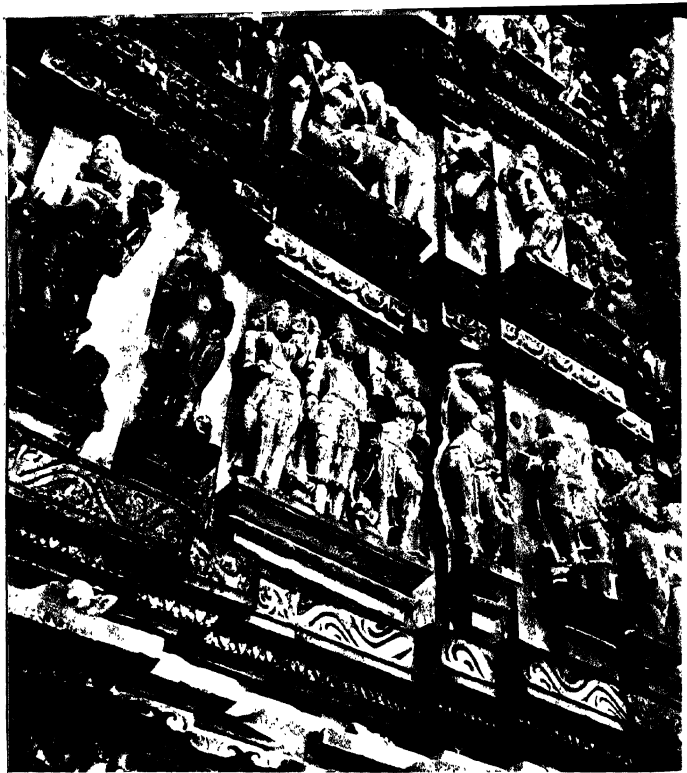
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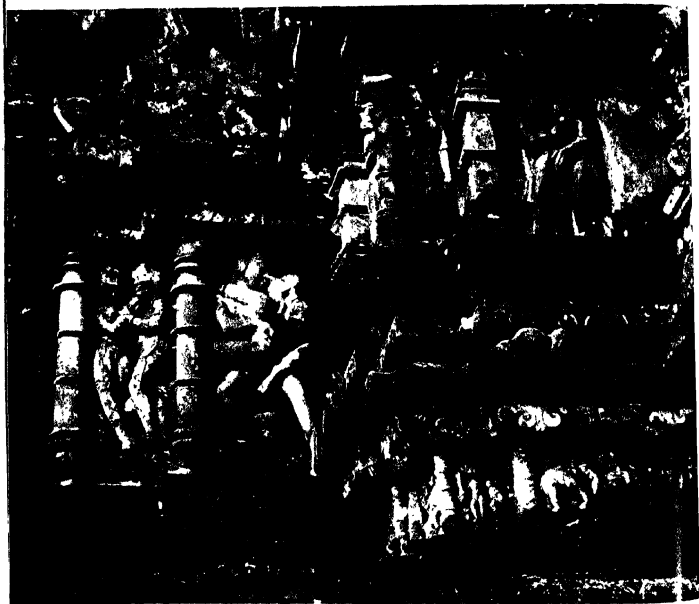
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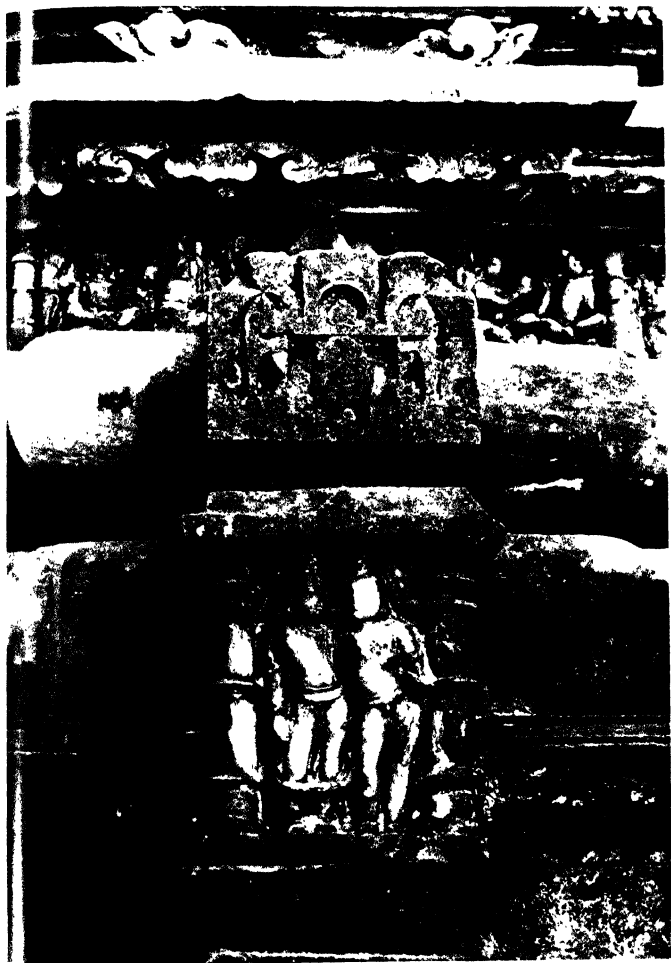
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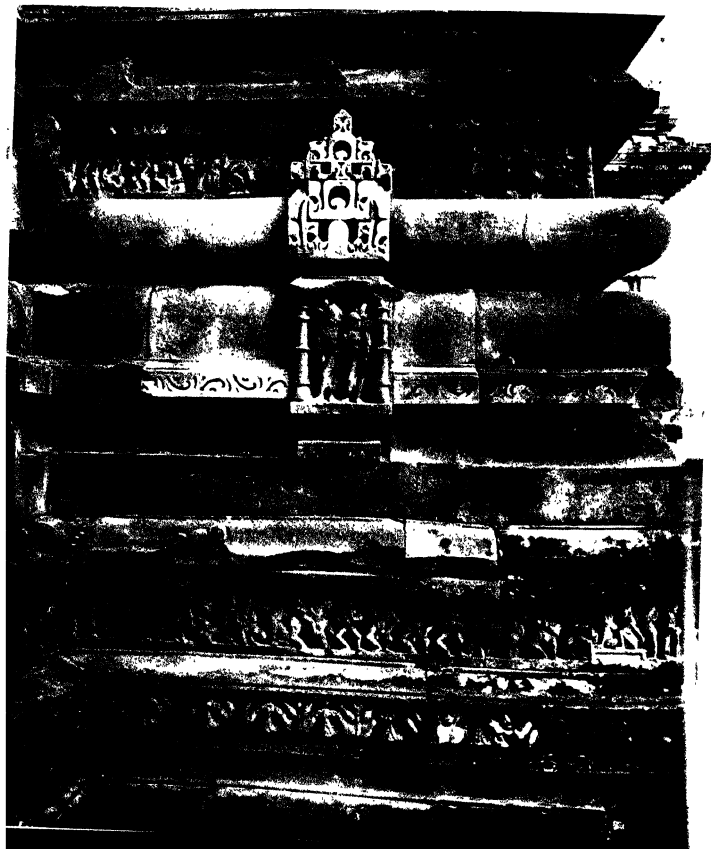
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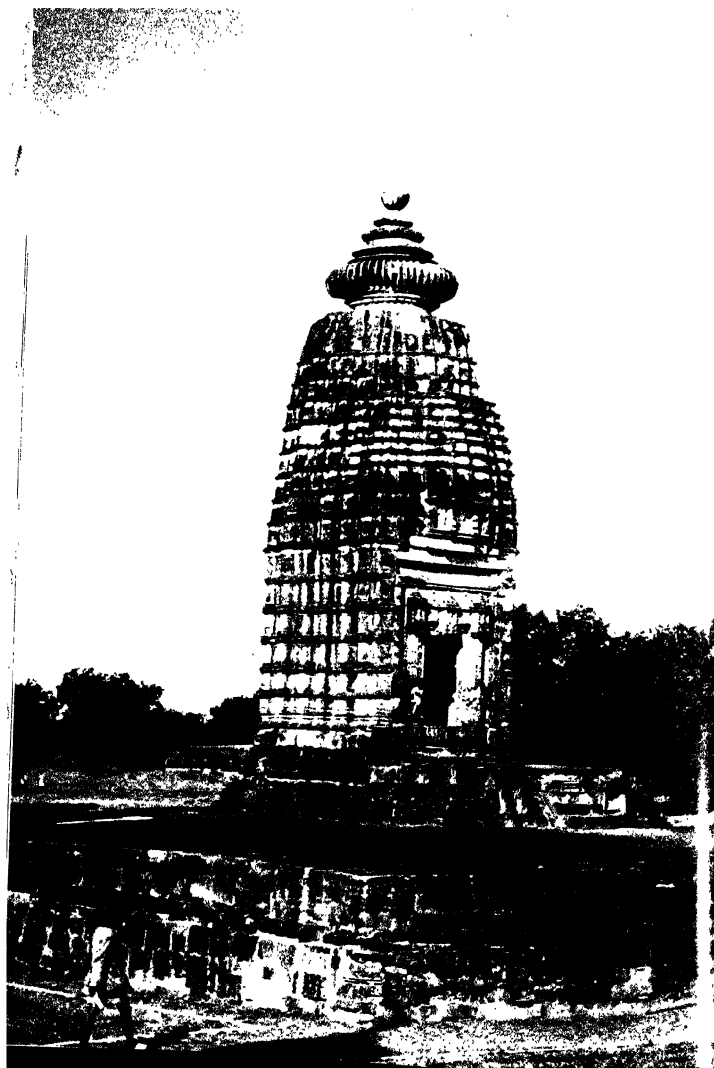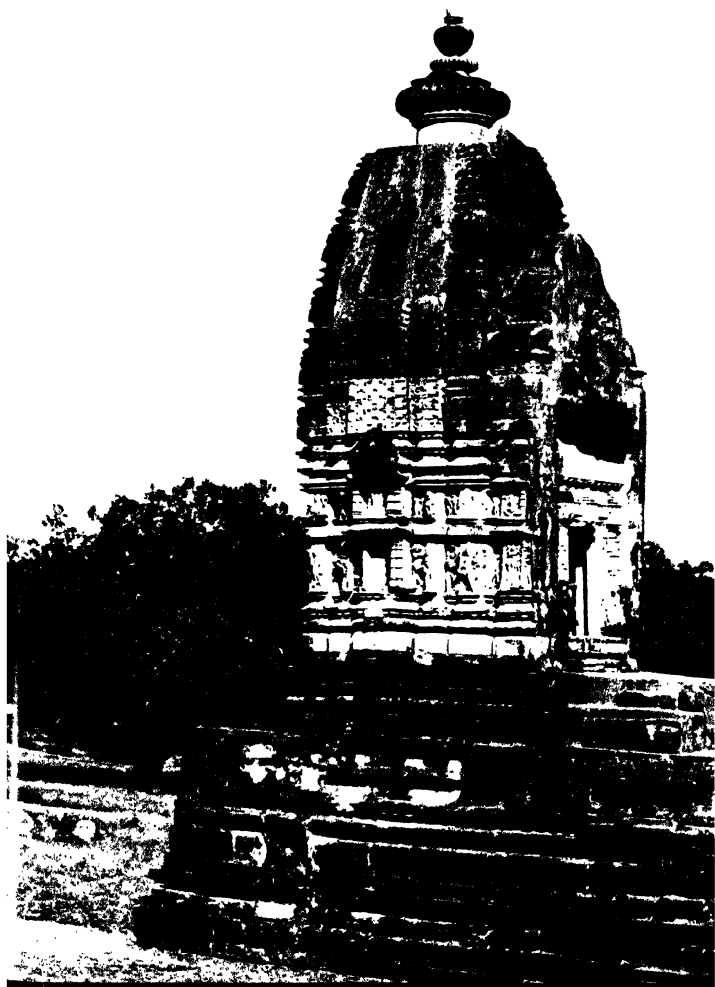
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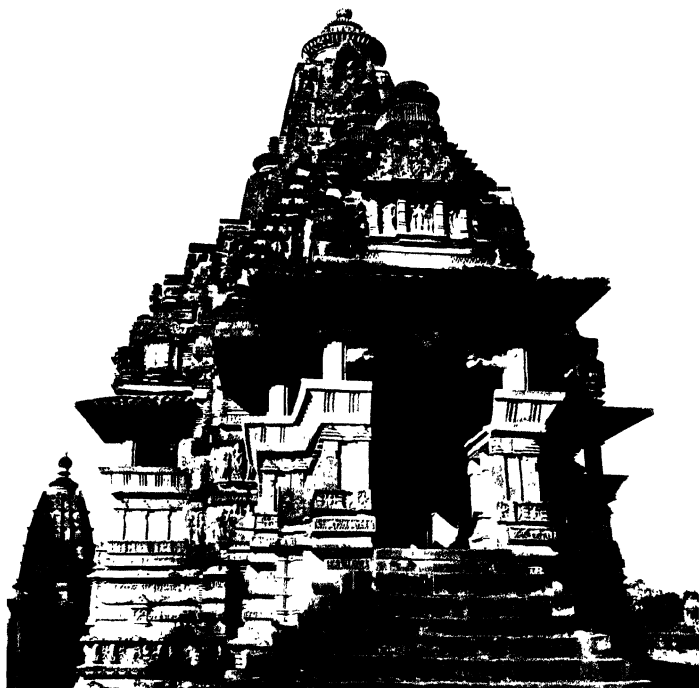
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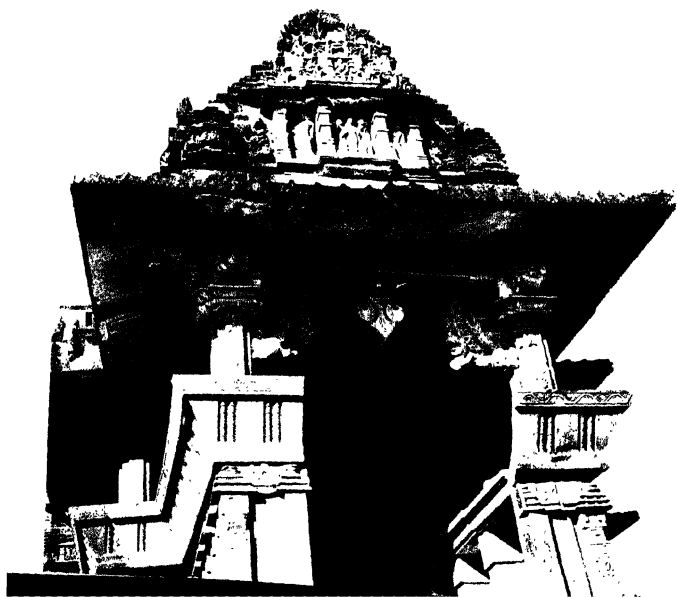
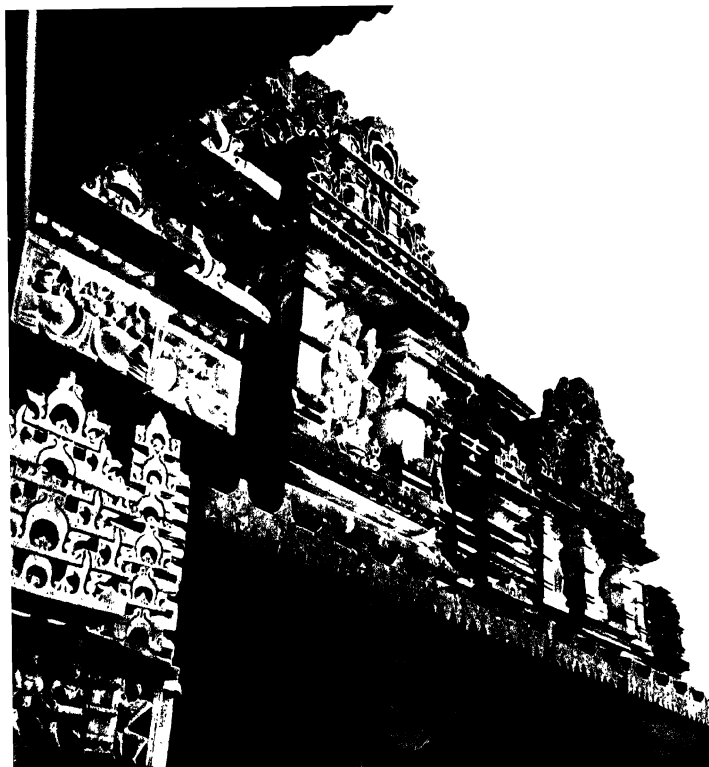
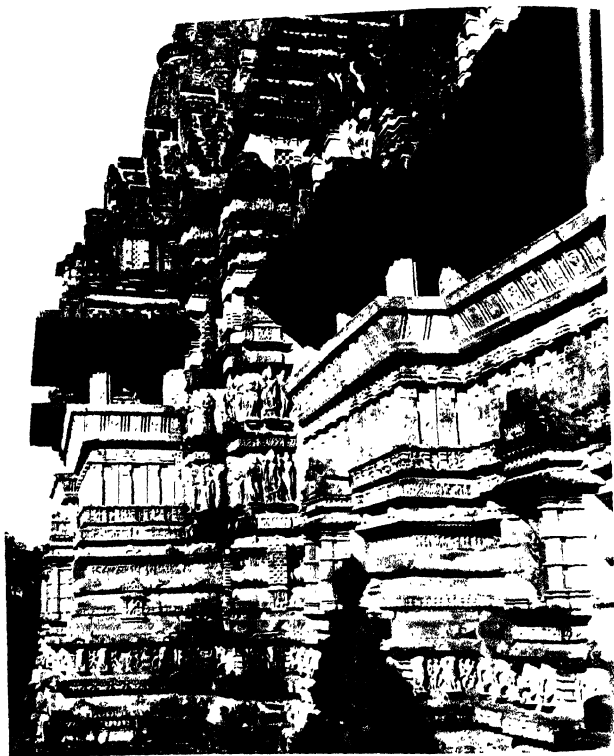
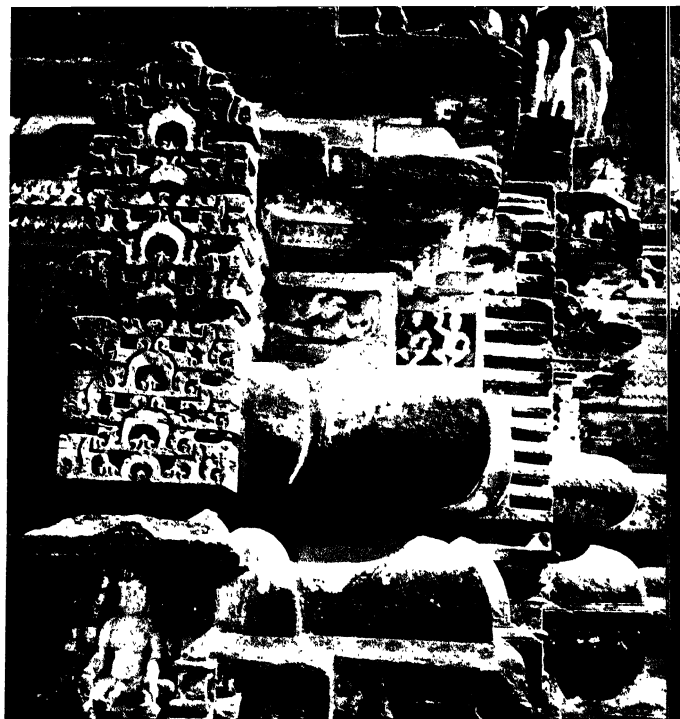
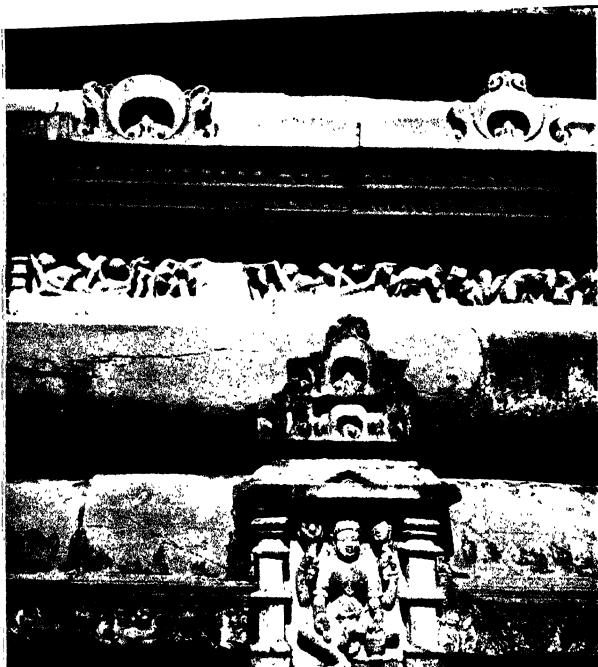

LXXXI LAKSMANA Superstructure

LXXXII. LAKSMANA South wall

LXXXIII. LAKSMANA. *Ardhamandapa* and surroundings

LXXXIX. LAKṢMAṆA. South wall and west balcony

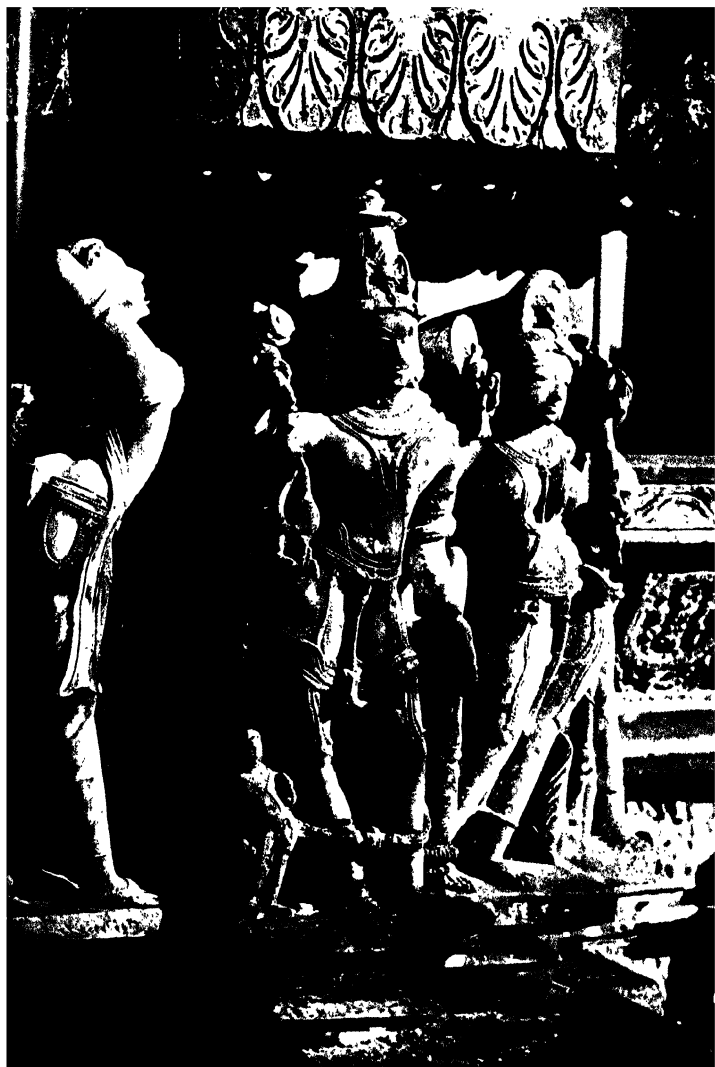
LXXXV. LAKṢMAṆA. South wall. Upper row

LXXXVII LAKSMANA Another detail of the plinth

LXXXVIII LAKṢMAṆA. Detail of the plinth

LXXXIX. LAKSMANA. Lower part of the balcony

LAKSMANA Recesses and decoration

XCI Lakṣmaṇa South wall First row

XCIII LAKSMANA South wall Fu

XCII LAKSMANA South wall Part of it

XCIV. LAKSMANA Gods and goddesses

XCV. LAKSMANA Surasundari

XCVI. LAKSMANA. Detail of an erotic frieze

XCVII. LAKSMANA. Detail of the same frieze

XCIX. LAKSMANA. Detail of the same

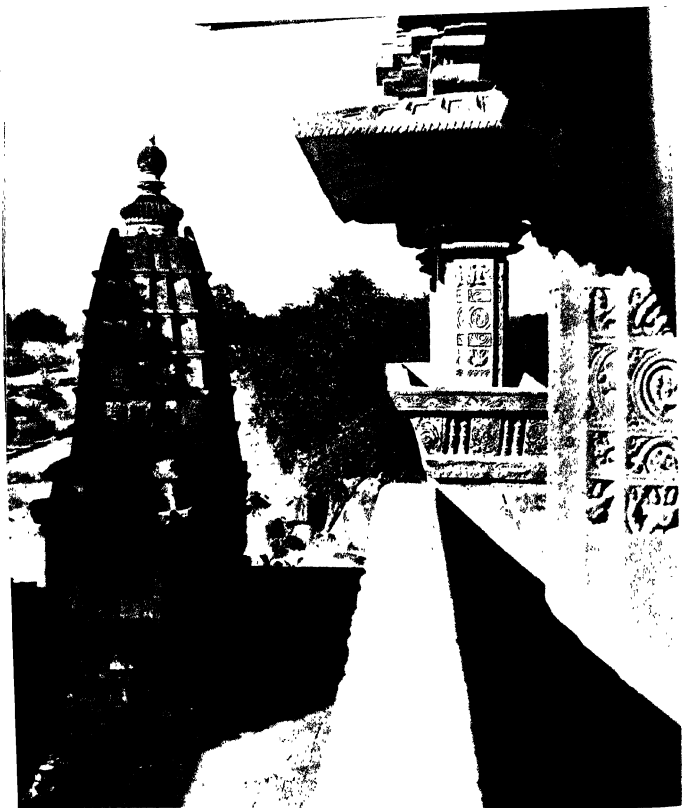
XCVIII. LAKSMANA. Detail of the [illegible]

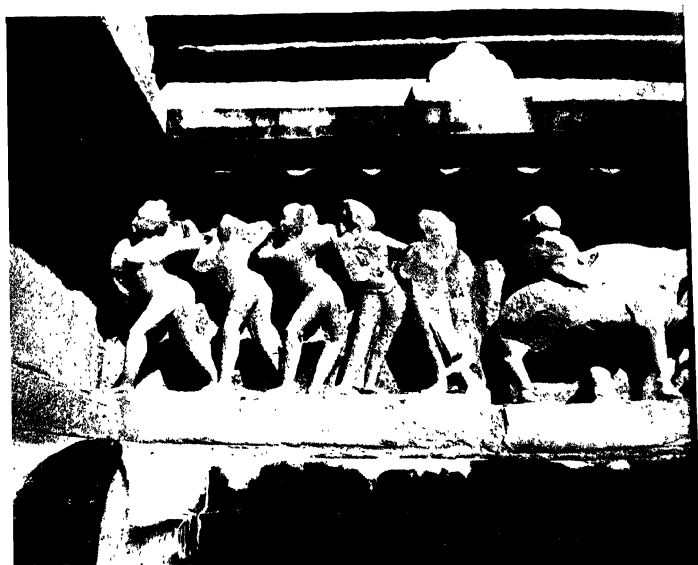
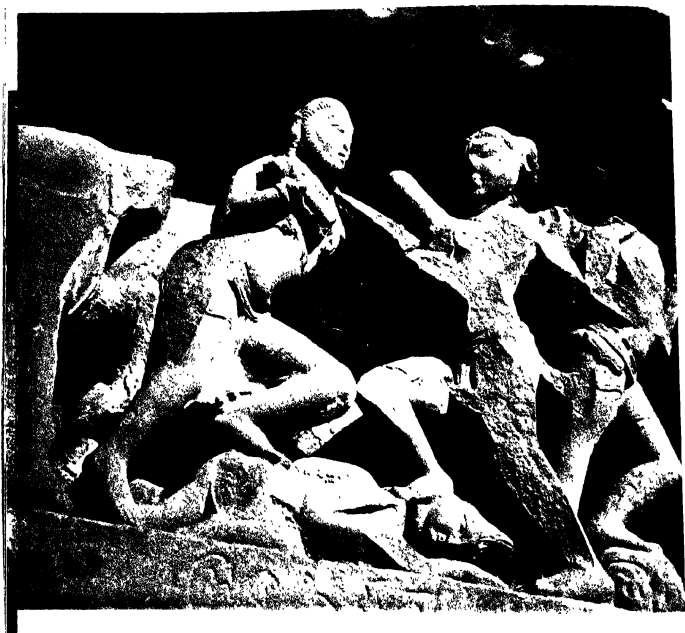
CII LAKSMANA South wall Part of the [illegible]

CIII LAKSMANA Goddess

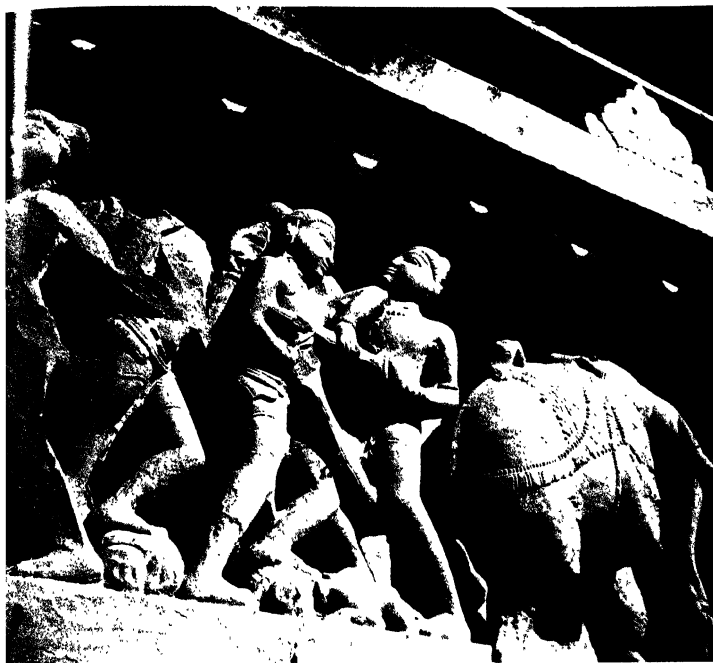
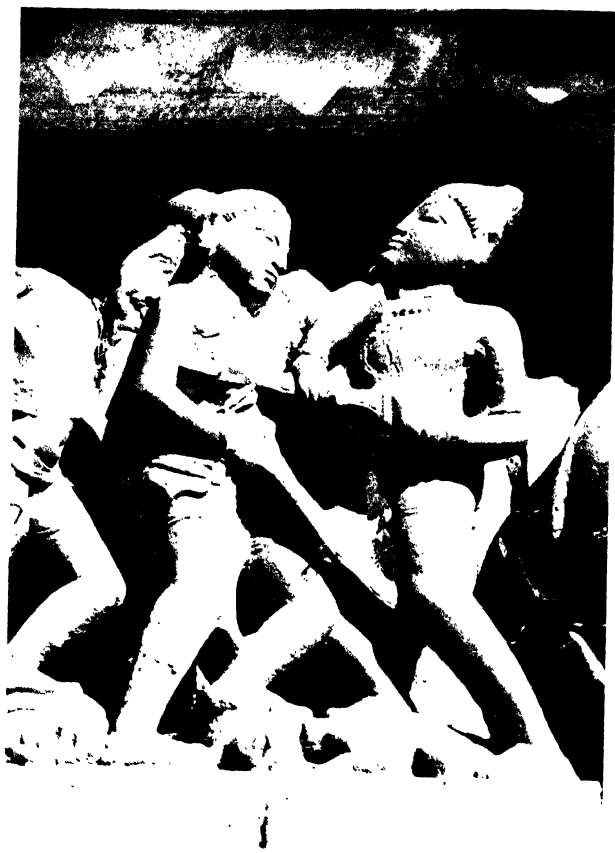
CIV. LAKSMI, a Goddess

CXI. LAKSMANA In the middle Visnu

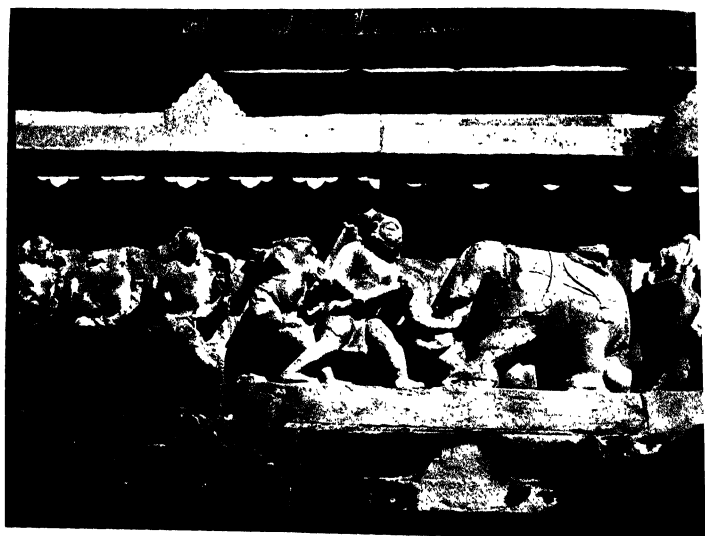
CXII. LAKSMANA Apsaras

CVIII. LAKSMANA Subhadra temple in the south-west

CIX. LAKSMANA Group of lion and man

CXI. LAKSMANA. Detail of the frieze of warriors

CXII. LAKṢMAṆA. Detail of the frieze of warriors

CXIII. Laksmana. Dead warrior

CXIV LAKSMANA Part of the frieze on plate CX

CXX LAKSMANA Detail couple of warrior

CXXI LAKSMANA Teacher and pupil

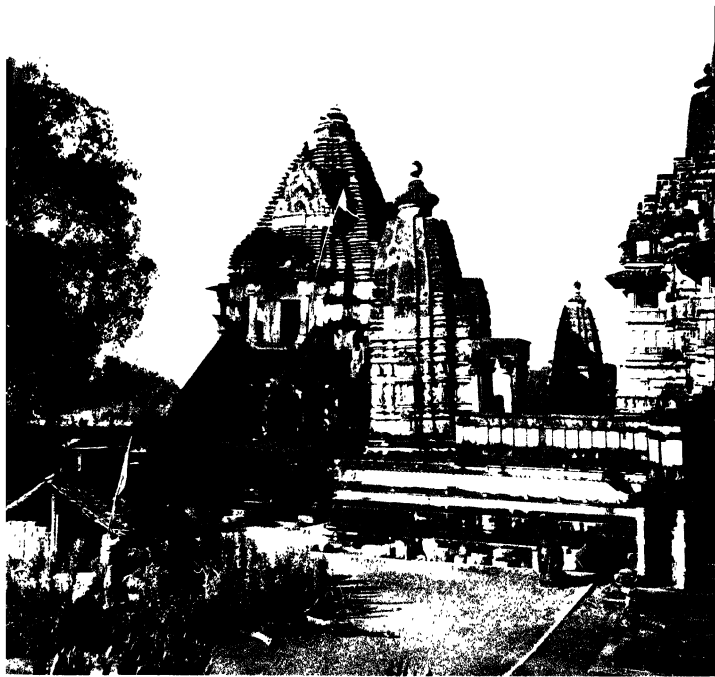
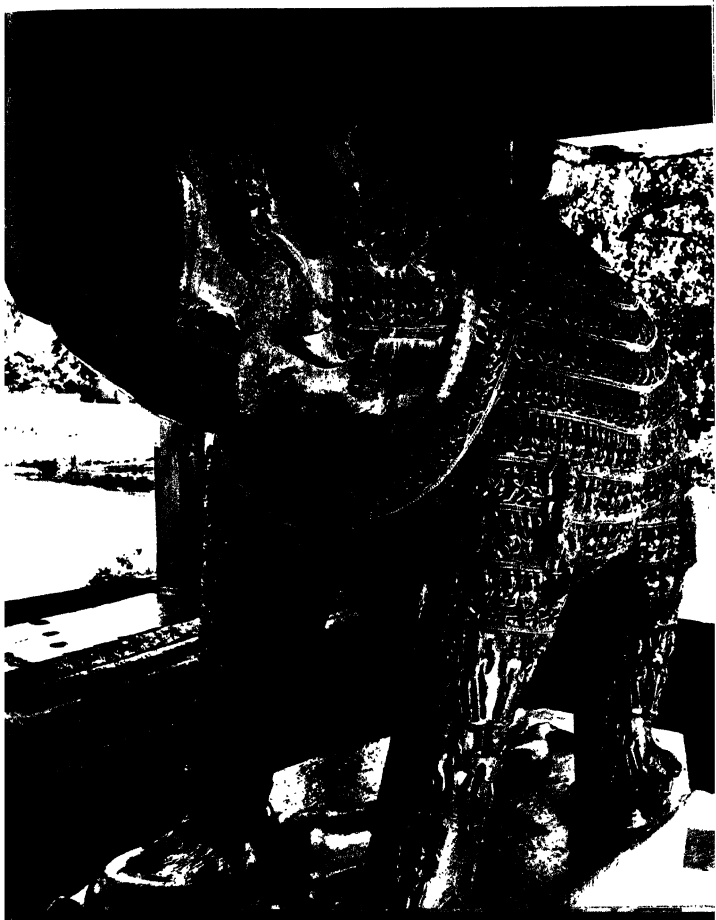
CXVIII. LAKSMANA: Horseman and servant

CXIX Couple of warriors

CXX Detail of the warrior to the left ▷

CXXI Detail of the warrior to the right

CXXII. DEVI. General view

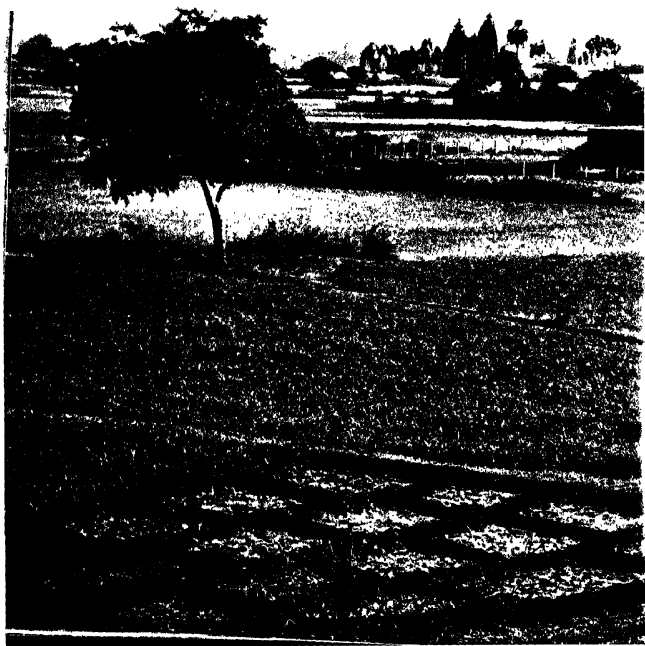
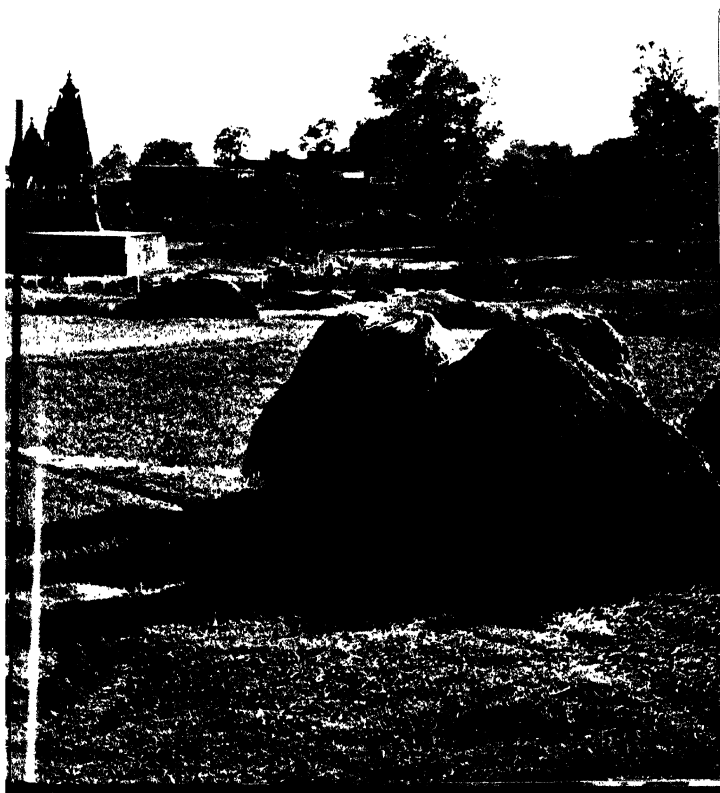
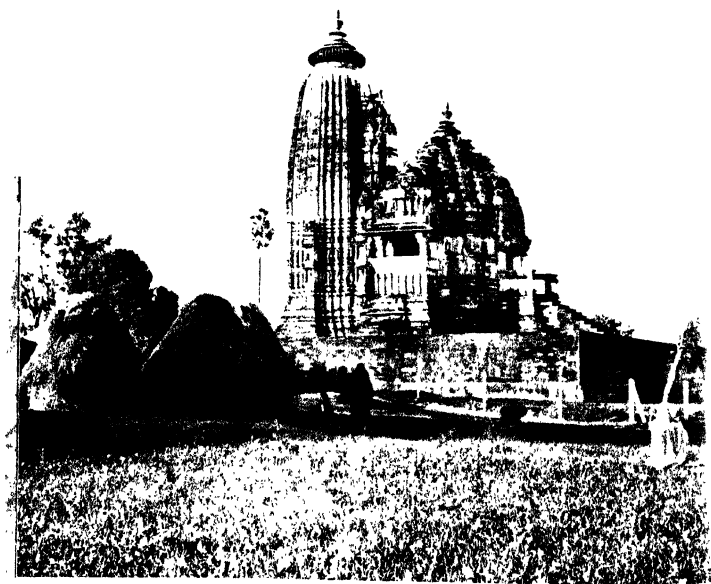
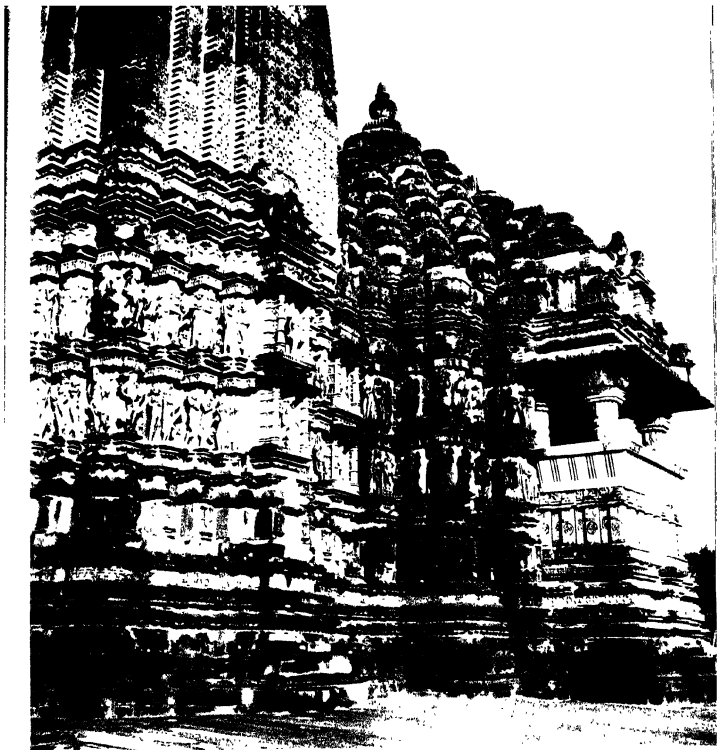
CXXIII. MĀTANGEŚVARA. General view

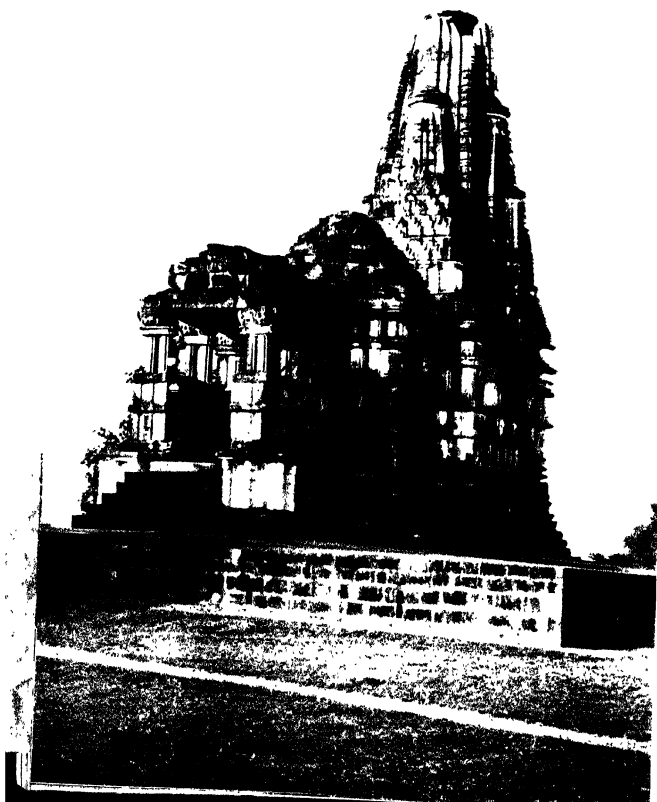
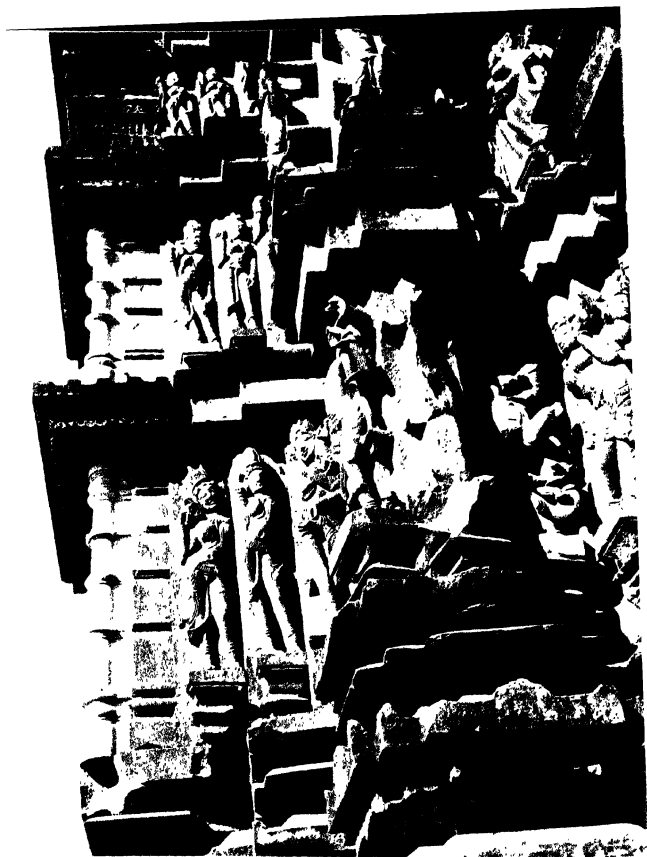
CXXV VARAHA The boar *avatara* of Vishnu

CXXVI. VARĀHA. Front legs of the boar

CXXXII. VARAHA. Detail of the boar's body

CXXVIII. Varāha. The boar's head

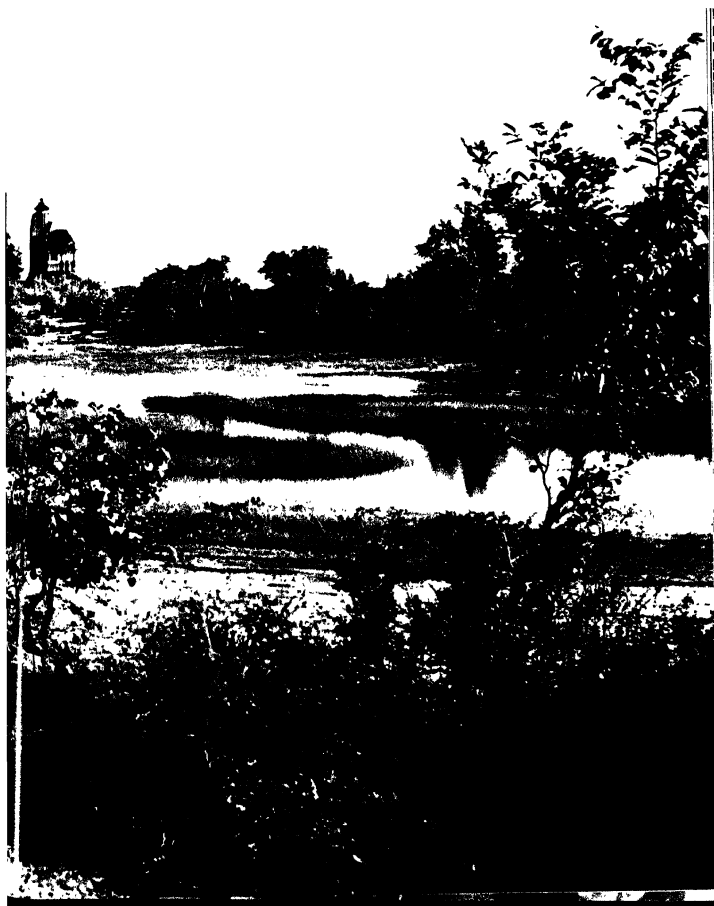
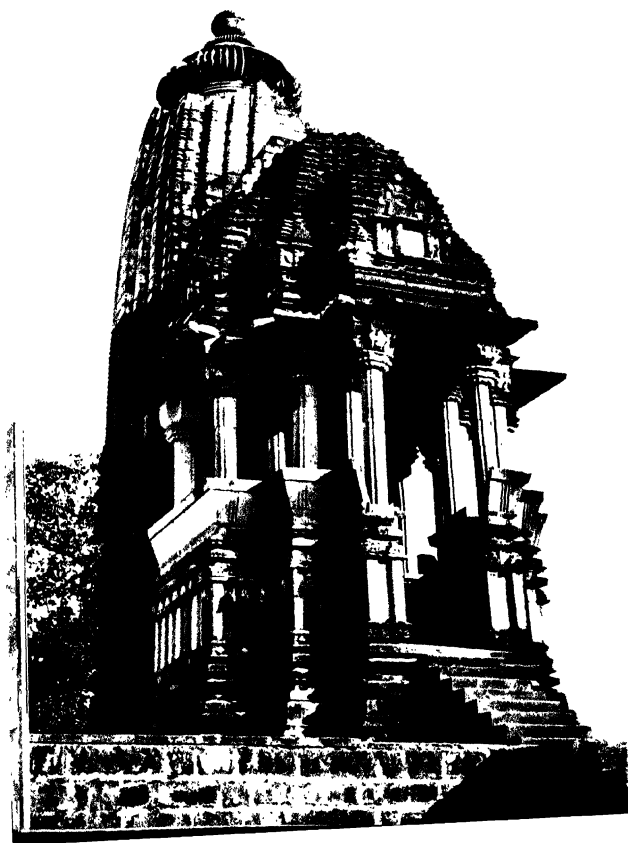
CXXIX. VARĀHA. Visnu on the boar's muzzle

CXXX. JAYARI. General view and surroundings

CXXXII VAMANA South wall

CXXXIII. Dulādeo. General view, North-east side

CXXXV. Dulādeo. South wall

CXXXVIII. DELVADA. Ceiling of the *mukhamandapa*

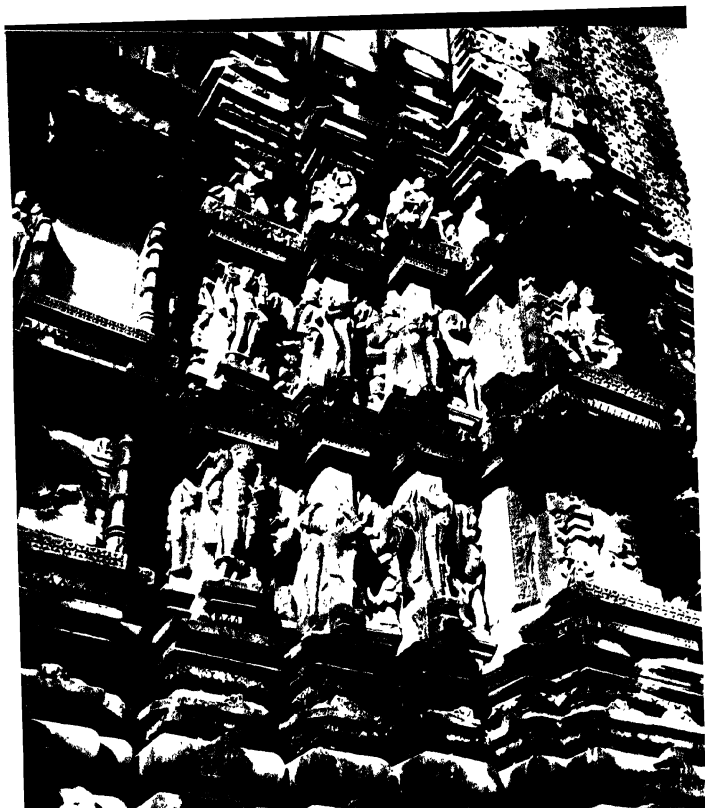
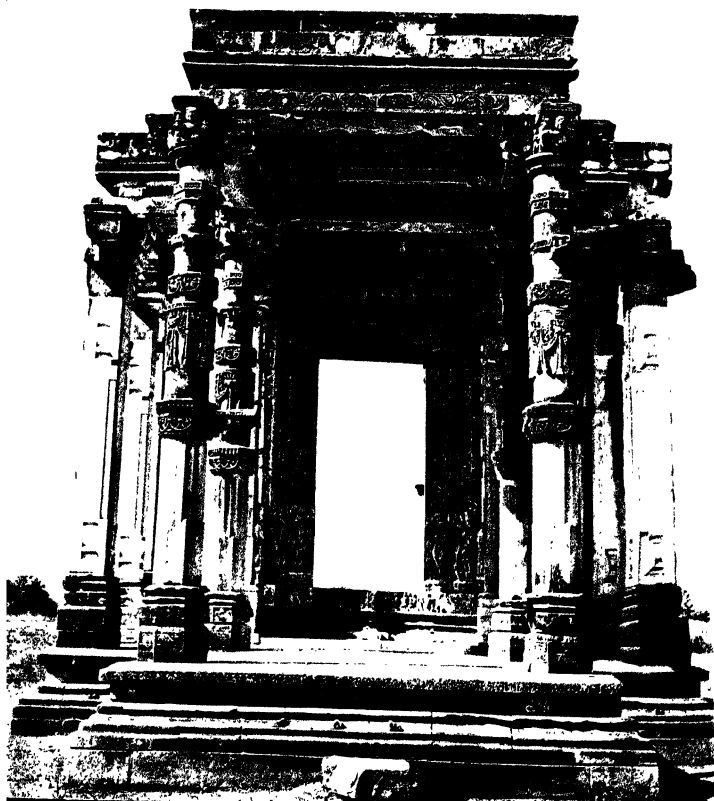
CXL DELVADA Two sālabhañj

CXXXIX DELVADA The ceiling of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* Detail

CXII Caturbhuja
The temple and its surroundings

CXIII. CATURBHUJA: South side view

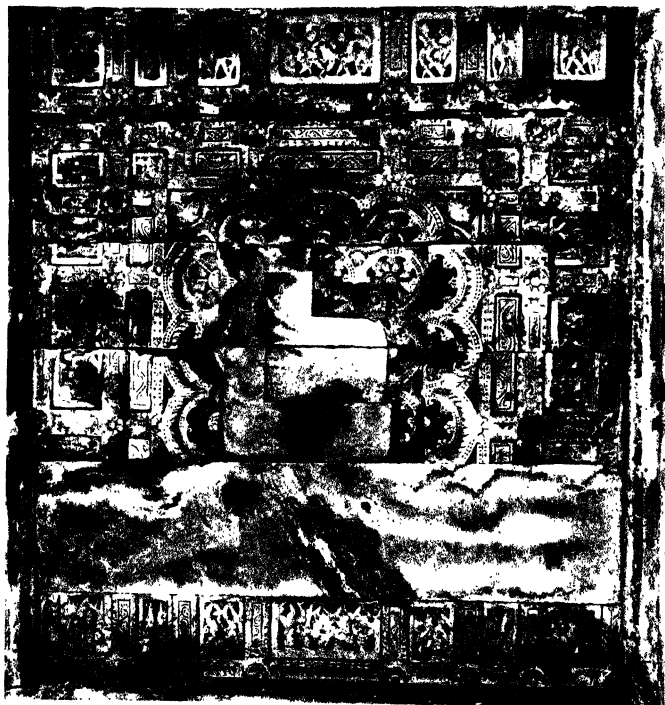
CXII. CATURBHUJA: General view

LIV. CATURBHUJA. Lower part of the *śikhara*

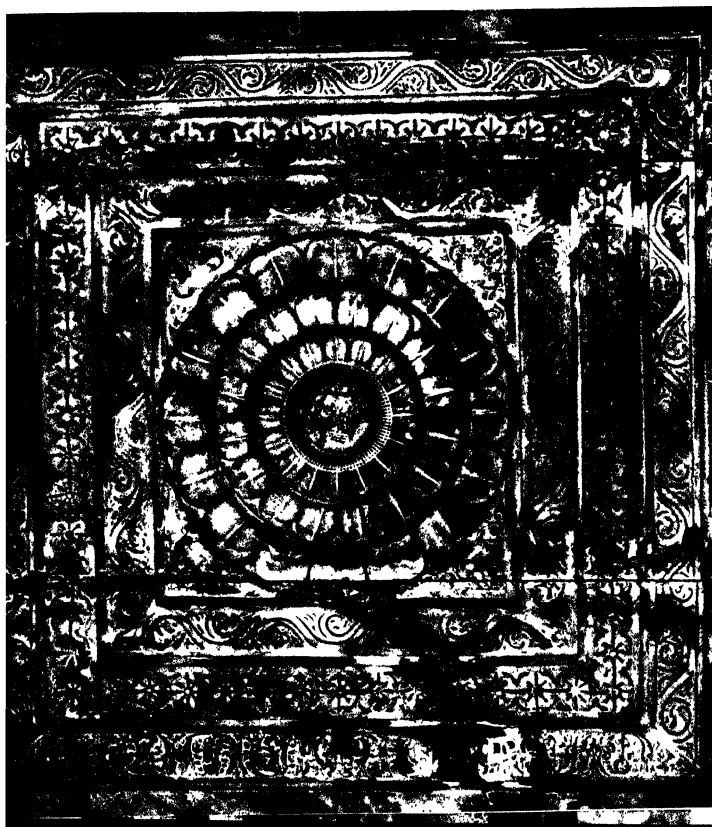
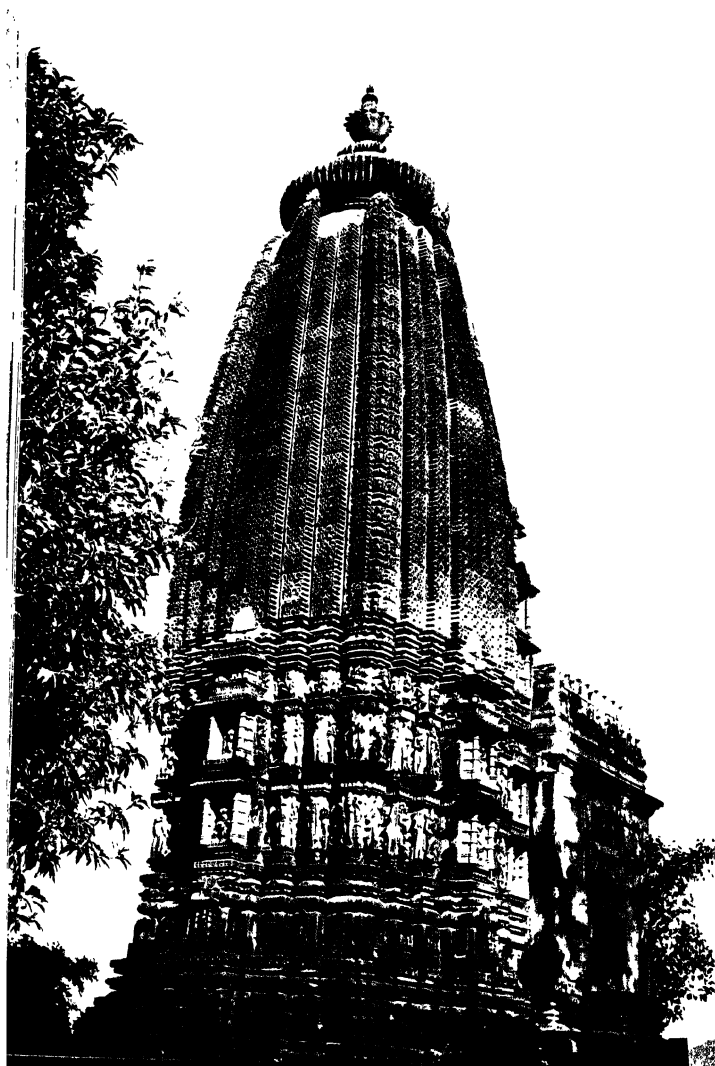
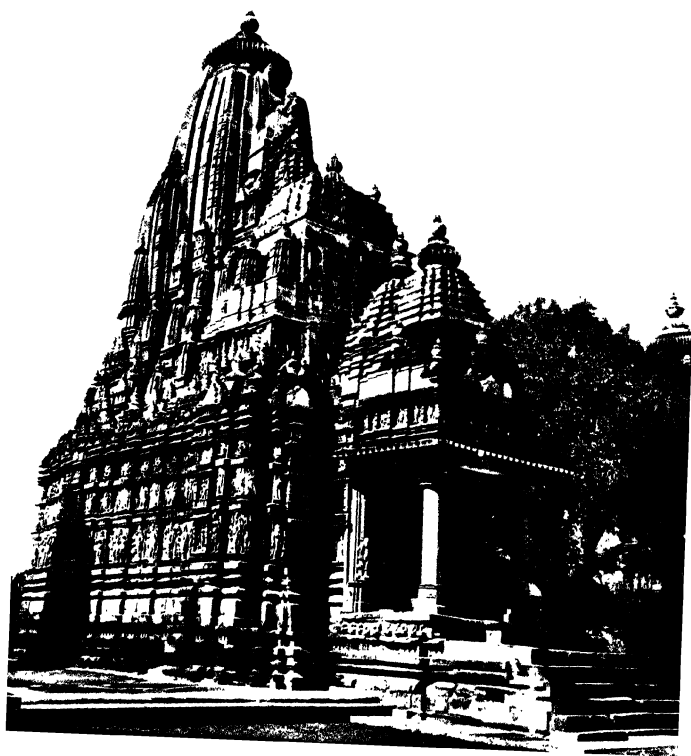
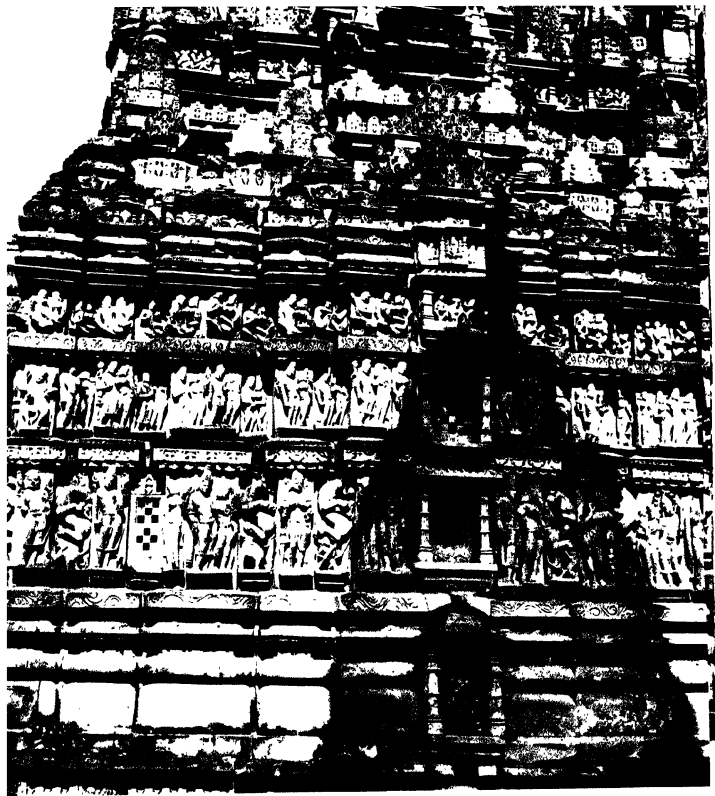
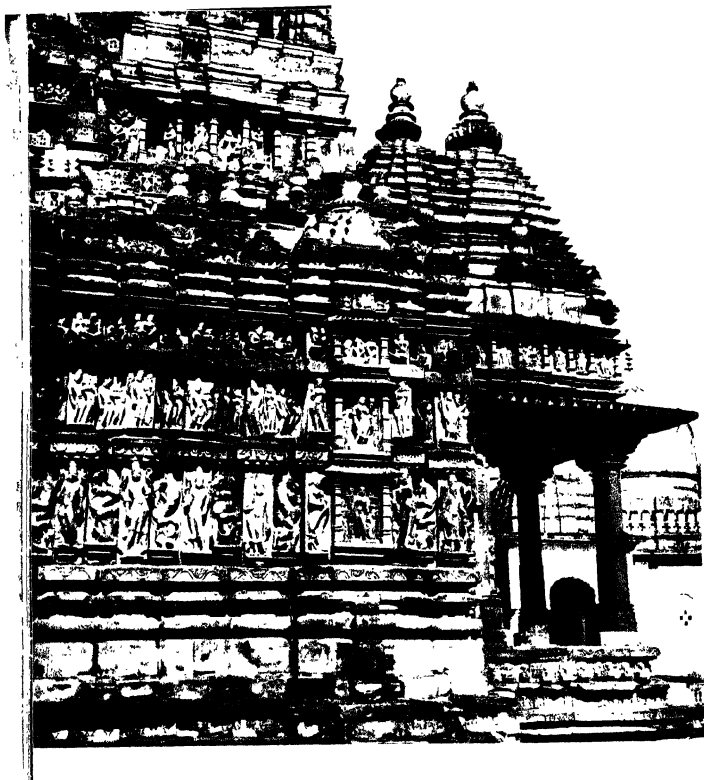
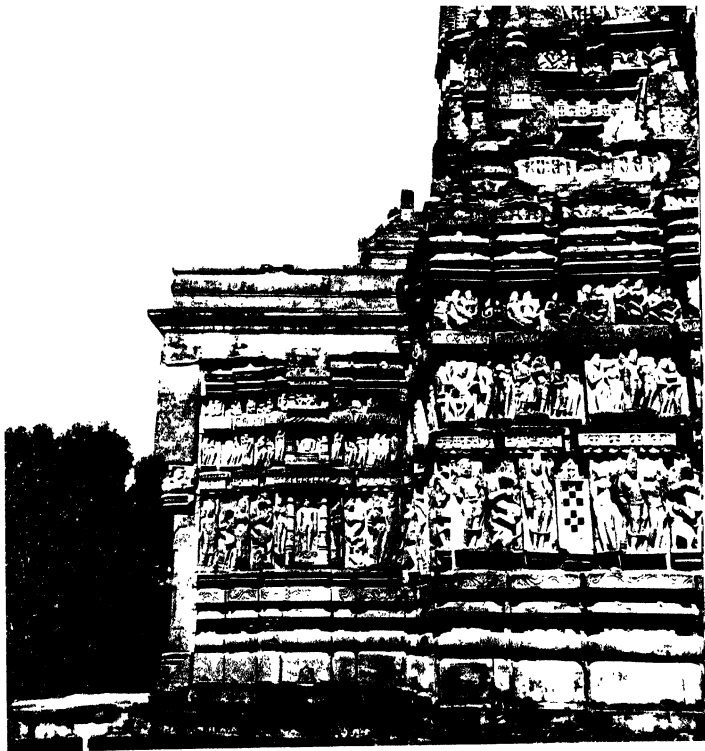
CXIV CATURBHUJA Door-jamb in the entrance of the sanctuary

CXLVII. GHANERAV. Decorated entrance of the *mahamandapa*

CXL. GHANERAV. Remains of the entrance

CXLVIII. GHANTAI. South view

CXLIX. GHANTAI. Decoration of a colu

CLI. GHANTAI. Detail of decoration

CIII GHANTAI Ceiling of the *ardhamandapa*

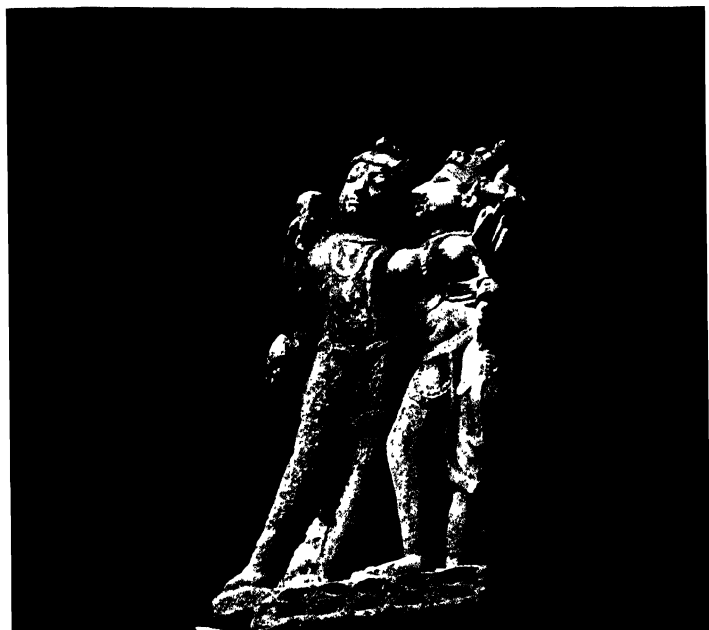
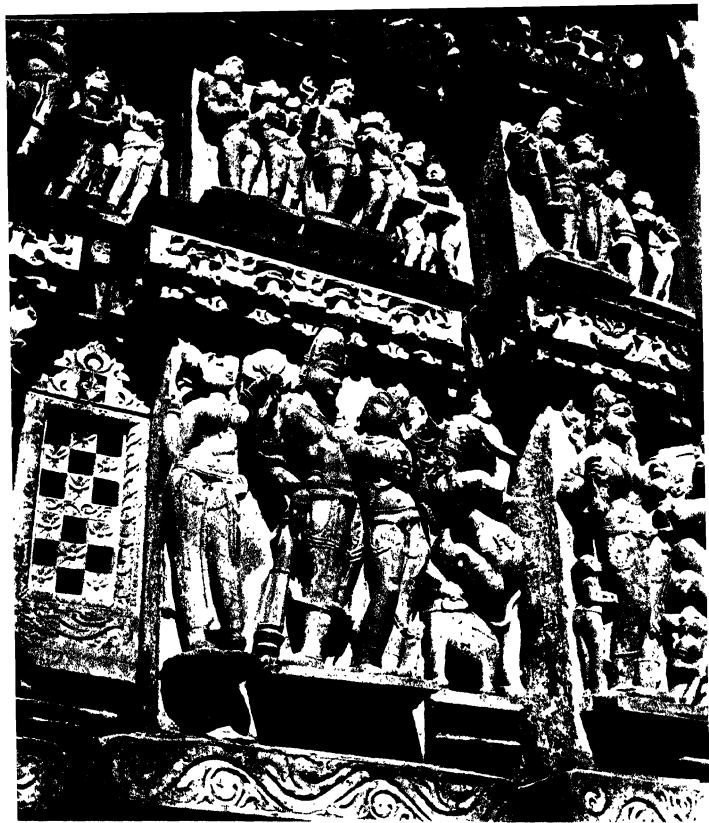
CLIII GHANERAO Ceiling of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*

CLXI. PARSVANATHA. General view

CLVII. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. South wall. Rows of sculpture

CLVIII PĀRŚVANĀTHA Portico and south wall

XLVI. Pārśvanātha. South wall, first row

CLXII. PARSVANATHA. Detail, Jaina goddess

CLXIII Pārśvanātha, Detail: surasundarī

CLXIV PĀRSVANATHA Detail of plate CLXIII

CLXXVI. Pārśvanātha, Agra

CLXVII PARSVANATHA South wall. Upper rows

CLXXIII PARSVANATHA Divine couple

CLXIX. PARSVANATHA. South wall. Lower rows

CLXX. Pārsvanātha: Female attendant

CLXXI. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī

CCXXIV. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. South wall. Śārdūla

CCXXV. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. South wall. Another śārdūla

CCXXIII. PĀRŚVANĀTHA. Jaina goddess